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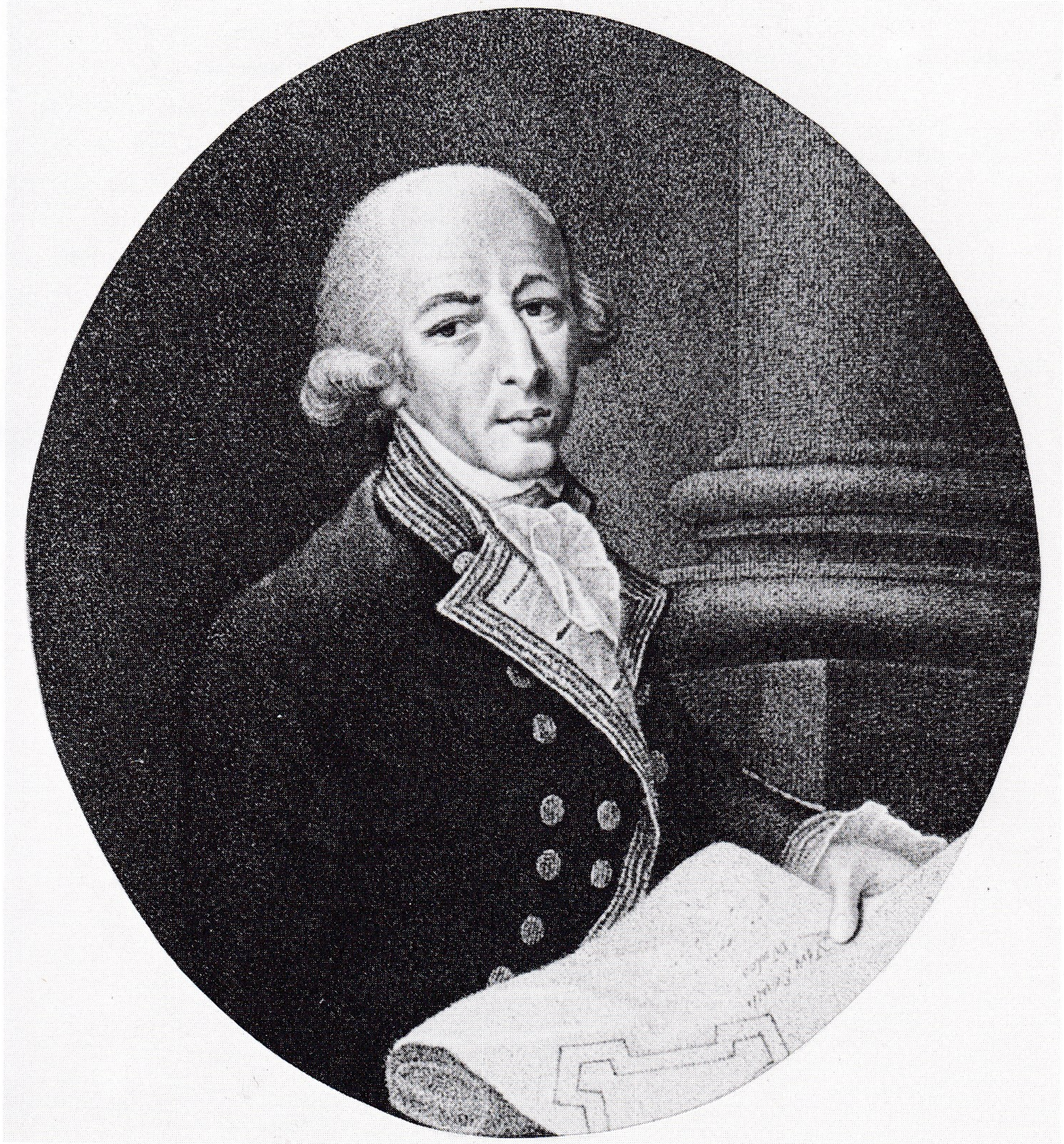

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Cover:

Arthur Phillip (1738–1814). Having led the First Fleet successfully to Australia, Phillip served as Governor of New South Wales 1788–1792.
Royal Marines Museum, Eastney

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PORTSMOUTH AND THE FIRST FLEET 1786–1787

James H. Thomas, BA, PhD, FRHistS

On the 13th of May, Commodore Philip, in the Sirius, commanded by Captain John Hunter, with the Supply armed brig, Lieutenant Ball, and nine transports, having on board a great number of convicts of both sexes, sailed from Spithead to New South Wales, in order to establish a colony at Botany Bay. The Hyaena of 20 guns, the Honourable Captain Michael de Courcy, was ordered to accompany the fleet 100 leagues to the westward.[1]

With these few words an early nineteenth century naval historian told of the departure from Portsmouth of the fleet carrying the first convicts to Australia. That group of ships, with its assorted human cargo, has become known as the First Fleet. To date, however, the many studies of the fleet, its vessels and personnel have tended to overlook the involvement of Portsmouth in the venture.[2] The aim of this essay is to rectify that imbalance, while also placing the entire episode in context and providing answers to certain questions. Where should convicts be sent? Who was involved in such a daring and very complex undertaking? Why were there so many delays? What did individuals think about setting off on a voyage that was, quite literally, into the great unknown? What impact was exerted upon Portsmouth? To provide answers to these and some allied questions, however, it is necessary to go back a few years before the sending of the First Fleet.

In 1783, with the ending of the American War of Independence and conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles between Britain, France and Spain,[3] trans-Atlantic relationships changed completely. Instead of colonies on the North Atlantic's western shore there was now a newly created independent nation. Furthermore, criminals could no longer be shipped there as part of the legal punishment process.[4] With increasingly overcrowded conditions in England's less than savoury goals, and the rising crime rate, somewhere else had to be found for those unfortunates sentenced to transportation. Over the years historians have come to argue that this was one reason for sending the First Fleet to Botany Bay. But there were others as well. Some have argued that obtaining naval supplies, particularly flax and masts, was of major importance. Furthermore, there was a need for naval bases in the Indian Ocean if French imperial aspirations were to be held in check. There is also the Trade Development theory which suggests that Australian florescence was governed, initially at least, by the need to develop and maintain trade in tea, furs and whaling products with North America and elsewhere.[5]

The despatch of the First Fleet was not, however, a simple matter of substituting Botany Bay for American penal settlements. If that *was* the case, endless arguments and prevarications at governmental and other levels would not have ensued. Nor, for that matter, would time and effort have been expended on searching for alternative locations. From August 1784 onwards attempts were made to dump convicts on a contractual basis in British Honduras, some of the unfortunates being put to work in the emergent logwood industry. Such operations, however, encountered opposition and resistance from that colony's inhabitants.[6] Pitt's government was rumoured to have considered British North America as an alternative in summer 1786, only to abandon the idea.[7]

The West Coast of Africa was a further possibility. Indeed, it has been argued by some that Africa was tried, found wanting and thus the First Fleet was dispatched to Botany Bay. But this is untrue, for the issue was more complex. The *Daily Universal Register* certainly believed that government intended using some form of alternative overseas transportation scheme and ministers had endeavoured in 1785 to have Africa made an official outlet. Low survival rates for white convicts there, it was suggested, would produce welcome financial savings. At least two schemes were attempted in Africa. In the Gambia, which Britain had retained under the 1783 peace terms, there was a low key attempt to purchase an island 'as a settlement for convicts'.[8] In November 1786 government support was gained for a scheme to remove many of London's freed and penurious negro slaves to Sierra Leone.[9] Preparations were not dissimilar from those for Botany Bay, entailing marshalling settlers aboard vessels in the Thames, moving them round to Portsmouth and then keeping them waiting. Indeed, in the minds of many the two schemes – Sierra Leone and Botany Bay – were not unconnected. In early December 1786 the *Daily Universal Register* reported that the government was considering sending felons guilty of capital offences

> to Africa, to be slaves for life, to attend upon black masters that settle in the new colony going to be established there . . .[10]

From Portsmouth in late January 1787 it was reported that

> The Nautilus, with the two transports and Blacks, intended for the new settlement on the Coast of Guinea, is expected to sail this day.

In February it was stated that the two fleets, one bound for Africa, the other for Australia, would sail together 'till they come to the coast of Africa'. But as the month closed the vessels showed no sign of moving:

> Remain at the Motherbank, several transports, with convicts, for Botany Bay; and some having Blacks,

World map showing route taken by the First Fleet from Portsmouth to New South Wales. Also shown are some of the proposed destinations for convicts during the years 1783–1787.
Philip Magrath

and white women on board, for the coast of Africa.[11]

In April there were reports that convicts sentenced to transportation would be 'sent off in the first ships that sail either for Botany Bay or Africa'. Some of those earmarked for Australia had their destination changed; riotous behaviour in the wake of sentencing resulted in shipment to less pleasant African climes.[12]

Earlier in 1787 plans had been aired for segregating convicts. The female inmates of Newgate and convicts from provincial gaols would be sent to Botany Bay. Newgate's male occupants and those from other London gaols would be shipped to Africa:

> The policy of this *distinction* is obvious; the country convicts are supposed to be fittest for agriculture, and c. while the villains of London are thought to be most proper to be sent to Africa.[13]

The destination was not, a local newspaper explained, without its attractions:

> The few convicts going to Africa are destined to the island of Tasso, at the mouth of the river Sierra Leona, about ten miles in circumference, where there is plenty of wood, water and every necessary of life sufficient for the support of more than 1000 inhabitants. The soil also abounds with cotton, indigo, camur wood, and other valuable exotics.[14]

By mid-February 1787, however, disease had broken out among the negroes waiting in Portsmouth:

> . . . the negroes who have lately been put on board two vessels in Portsmouth harbour, bound to Africa, are afflicted with an epidemical fever, which carries off, upon an average, seven or eight of those unfortunate people every day.

A small-scale mutiny broke out among the negroes, but the ringleaders were quickly placed in irons. Just a few days later the sloop *Nautilus* left 'with the unhappy negroes destined for Africa . . .'.[15]

Though the *Daily Universal Register* was quite definite, early in September 1786, that Botany Bay would be the eventual destination of transported convicts[16] it reported a change of heart as the year's end approached:

> After long hesitation on the business, we understand it is now fully determined, that the convicts intended for Botany Bay, shall be sent to New Norfolk. This island is situate in the South Seas . . . It is little more than five leagues in circumference.[17]

Discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, Norfolk Island was approximately midway between Australia and New Zealand. For the naval authorities it had two great natural assets – the flax plant and large areas of tall, majestic, pine trees.[18] By late December 1786 it was certainly being considered as a viable alternative, and efforts were made to bring home its significance to the public:

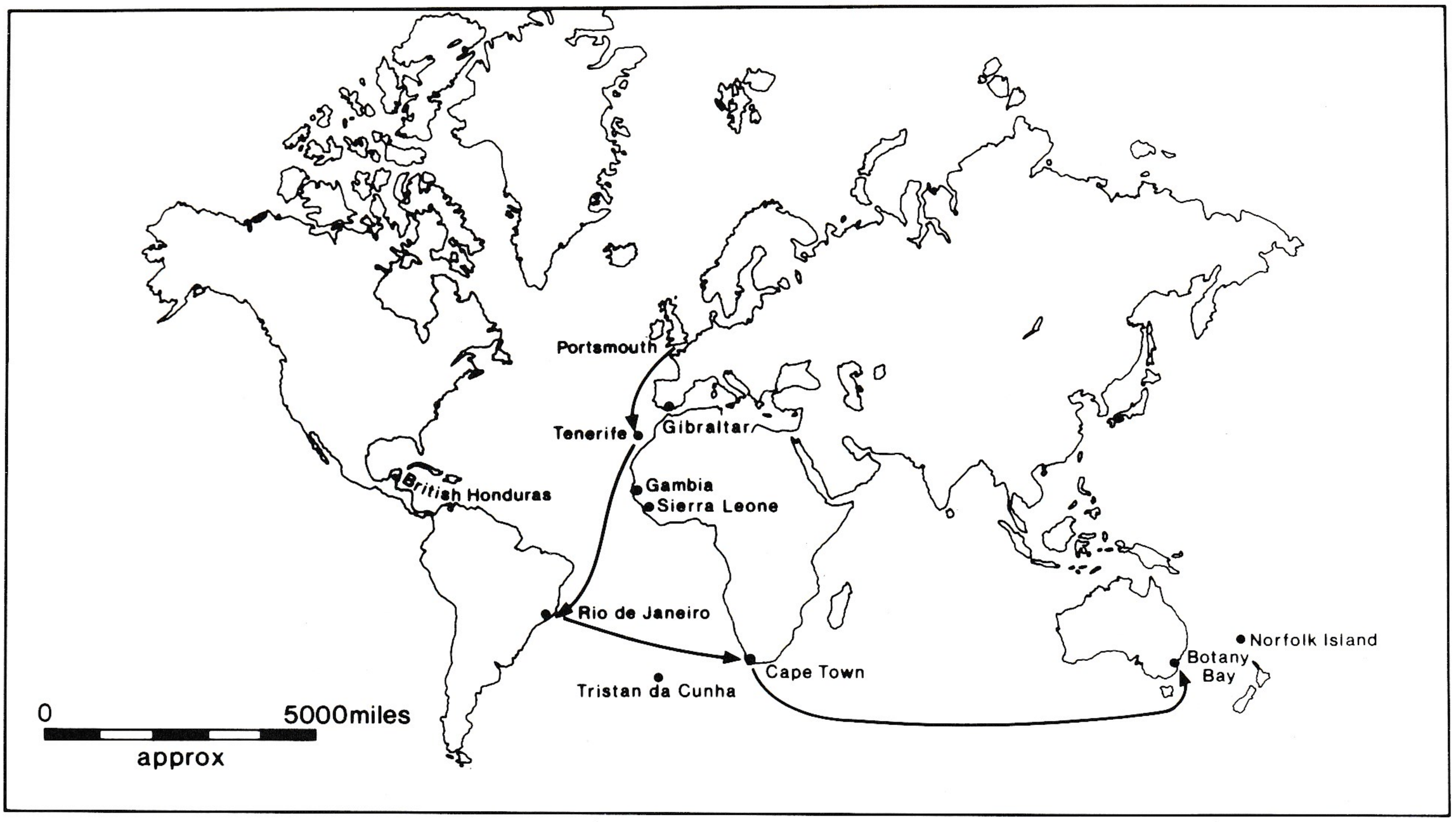
> Norfolk Island is nearly in the form of an iscosceles triangle, and its greatest length does not exceed six miles, nor its greatest breadth five miles; consequently its surface is but about 1–15th part of that of the Isle of Wight. It lies about E.N.E. 1–4th E. from Botany Bay, and is distant from it about 310 leagues. It affords no shelter for shipping, and fresh water appeared to be very scarce; probably none is to be found there in dry seasons.[19]

For anybody lodged there it really would have appeared the edge of the world. Another possibility considered was the remote South Atlantic island of Tristan da Cunha, thought to offer many advantages:

> If, instead of Botany Bay, they were to be sent to Tristan da Cunha, in 37° south latitude, between Africa and America, the voyage being so much shorter, they might probably be sent sooner from England; and as their passage would be about two months, they would probably arrive early in January, whereby they would have the height of summer to prepare for their winter habitations, and the stock that would be consumed in the course of the other voyage, would be so much saved of the expence in the outfit, and they will be so near the Cape of Good Hope, as easily to be supplied from thence, or from England, by the southern whalers, at little or no expence, as these whalers would carry such necessaries as they may want, in exchange for the oil that may be collected.[20]

Not all of the schemes, however, were quite so far-flung. Government was reported to have considered using felons in quarries, as the *Daily Universal Register* explained in September 1786:

> The employment of felons in the stone quarries at Guernsey and Portland, which has been some time in contemplation, is at length finally resolved to be carried into execution. This is to be without detri-



ment to the quarrymen, as they are called, for the convicts will only be employed as labourers. Barracks will be built for their lodging, and the soldiers are to keep constant guard over them.[21]

In October the newspaper drew attention to the fact that a plan had been offered to government 'a few years since' of distributing convicts among garrisons. 'Gibraltar alone could with safety take 300 . . .' it commented.[22] Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel was reported to be 'in the contemplation of Government, as a proper place for the receptacle of convicts'.[23] The intention, quite clearly, was to build on the work of the Barnstaple M.P. Thomas Benson who, in 1748, had dumped Virginia-bound convicts on the island to erect walls and build roads.[24] Britain's harbours could be improved substantially, argued some, by introducing convict labour. Recent French successes at Cherbourg using such means[25] emphasised the point. And yet despite the practical advantages and possibilities offered by all these schemes there were other reasons for selecting Botany Bay.

Captain Cook's exploratory voyages in the 1770s had conjured up pictures of a vast country rich in natural resources. Furthermore, if members of the criminal fraternity were dispatched to develop such a land there would be an extra benefit in that they were most unlikely ever to darken the doors of decent English folk again! One notorious Scottish criminal felt that transportation to 'Bottony Bay' was infinitely preferable to an ignominious end upon the gallows 'to the disgrace of my numerous connections'.[26] European rivalry also contributed substantially to the selection of Botany Bay. Ever since Abel Tasman had first sighted Australia in the 1640s and laid claim to it, the balance of European powers was such that other rivalries had kept them pre-occupied. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, that situation had changed. Readers of the *Hampshire Chronicle* in Autumn 1786 learnt of such developments:

> The East India companies in Holland pretend to have a property to it, although they were ill used by the inhabitants when they attempted to settle themselves there. The country, whose extent is many thousand miles, is so highly esteemed by the Dutch, that they have caused the map thereof to be cut in the stones of their Stadt-House at Amsterdam.

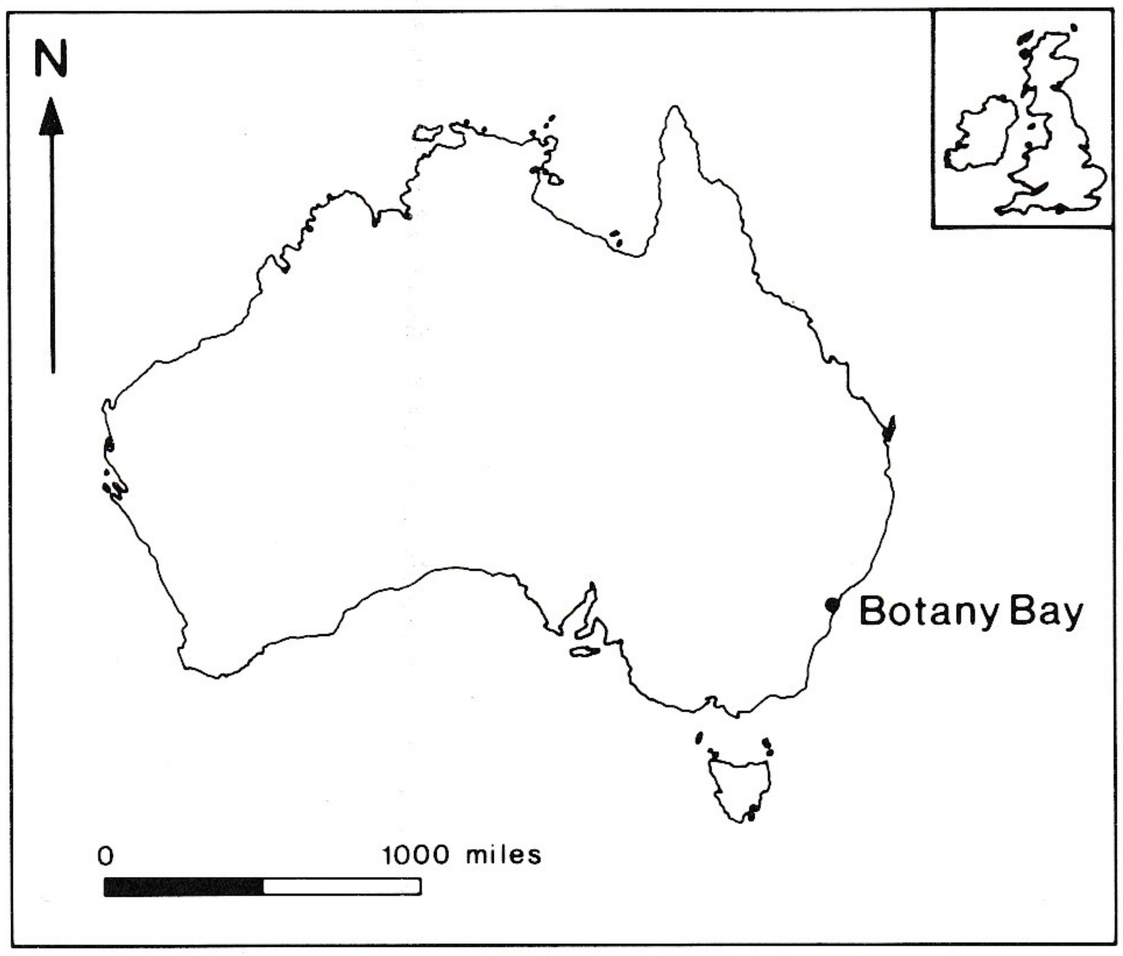
Later, rumours were rife that the Dutch intended to make a strong stand against what they viewed as English 'intrusion' into Australia:

> The Dutch have always claimed the Sovereignty of it by the right of discovery, a right which has been greatly respected by the different powers in Europe; and we are credibly informed that his Excellency the Baron de Leyden, the Dutch Ambassador to our Court, has received orders to remonstrate with our Ministers . . . against our regular planting of a territory, which they assert belongs to another country.

By the end of that year stories were circulating that the Dutch had

> either in Botany Bay, or within a few leagues of that place, several transports and two men of war, with troops, to preserve their prior claim to that part of the world.[27]

While the Dutch looked proudly upon the distant land as 'New Holland', France, too, cast covetous glances upon it. With an active East India Company, a developing interest in the Indian Ocean, and the activities of Bougainville,[28]



the French were beginning to demonstrate a Pacific presence. There was also Captain Kerguelen's romantic, if somewhat futile, gesture of inscribing the French coat of arms upon a piece of paper, inserting it into a bottle and then casting it into the sea off the Australian coast in the early 1770s.[29] Reports from France in 1785 made clear how seriously a French rival claim was being taken. From Paris the Duke of Dorset wrote:

> . . . Mons. de la Perouse will shortly sail from Brest, and it is reported, with some degree of authority, that he has orders to visit New Zealand, with a view to examine into the quality of the timber of that Country . . . It is believed that the French have a design of establishing some kind of settlement there, if it shall be found practicable . . .

Rather more ominous news arrived a few weeks later:

> I had the honour of mentioning to your Lordship, in my dispatch of the 5th of last month, that Mons. de la Peyrouse had other objects in view than merely that of making discoveries, and I particularly mentioned the orders he had received to touch at New Zealand, with a design of examining into the nature of the timber there, which, according to M. de Suffrein's report, is of an excellent quality for repairing Ships, but more particularly for masts. I can now inform your Lordship, from good authority, that 60 criminals, from the prison of Bicêtre, were last Monday conveyed under a strong guard and with great secrecy to Brest, where they are to be embarked on board M. de la Peyrouse's ships, and it is imagined they are to be left to take possession of this lately discovered Country.[30]

Nor was France alone. Spain, too, was looking in Australia's direction. This was no chimerical dream on the part of the Spaniards. Buoyed up by her experience in the Pacific, where she had successfully administered the Philippines since the mid-1560s, Spain also possessed a substantial Latin American empire. Moreover, the Falklands crisis of the early 1770s, necessitating the sending of ships from Portsmouth, bore ample testimony to the seriousness of Spanish expansionist plans in both the South Atlantic and the South Pacific.[31] Furthermore Spain proposed to back the Dutch in their opposition to the Botany Bay scheme. War, maintained contemporary newspapers, was an increasing likelihood, adding that 'the only good that can possibly result . . . would be the dismissal of the present men in power'.[32] As further evidence of Spain's intentions, plans were afoot for creating an East India Company at Cadiz 'for extending commerce in the East Indies'.[33] Clearly, it was imperative that England should not be left behind. The East India Company enjoyed a monopoly, which she both coveted and defended rigorously, on all trade to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. Active moves on England's part were therefore vitally important, though what ensued was neither easy nor straightforward.

Mounting and sending a penal expedition to so distant a land generated considerable interest in England at all levels. By some the plan was dismissed as 'so wild and extravagant, that we can hardly believe it could be encountered by any professional man after a moment's reflection'. No place, 'in the opinion of many, can be more improper . . . than Botany-Bay'. To convey people there safely would be impossible 'without a miracle'. Wisdom and miracles apart, the scheme also generated fresh consideration of the penal laws,[34] while one London discussion group debated the motion 'Is the intended Transportation of Convicts to Botany Bay disgraceful to a civilized Community?'. Newspapers kept their increasing readership informed as plans developed, while also imparting further relevant material – lengthy descriptions of Botany Bay, the horizon-widening that the expedition would stimulate and descriptions, sometimes none too flattering, of the Bay's residents. The *Reading Mercury* felt that 'As the Colonising of Botany-Bay is a subject of general conversation' an account of a Pacific shipwreck in the 1560s and the discovery of survivors' descendants a century later was good copy. The *Hampshire Chronicle's* columns considered an esoteric dimension – the narcotic effect of some Australian plant life upon local fish![35] Excitement was certainly generated in the world of literature. From at least August 1786 onwards there developed a steady flow of works on Cook's untimely demise, on the discovery of New Holland and related matters, with accompanying reviews in leading contemporary journals (A list of such books is contained in Appendix I). In Winchester, bookseller Thomas Blagden advertised for sale copies of *History of New Holland* and *Cook's Third and Last Voyage*, adding that they were also available from 'all

Distance and size: The British Isles and Australia drawn to the same scale.
Philip Magrath

the booksellers in town and country'.[36] In Portsmouth John Breadhower, always priding himself on stocking the latest works, would have been able to supply copies.

Contemporary interest was not all, however, of a serious vein. In November 1787 the *Daily Universal Register* pointed out that candidates for Botany Bay would miss the Lord Mayor's show by their impending departure, though Princess Amelia's recent death and funeral had provided some compensation.[37] Transportation, it was maintained, would interfere with the education of thieves, while establishment of a hemp manufactory in New South Wales would be 'much to the disgust of Jack Ketch'. A new literary enterprise in 1787, the *Humourist's Magazine*, struck a special medal showing the Botany Bay parliament debating ways and means.[38] For sheer entertainment a new opera, entitled 'Botany Bay' and described as 'partly moral and partly comic, and, upon the whole, a good thing; . . .' played to full houses at the Royal Circus, St George's Field, London, throughout most of April and much of May 1787.[39]

To transport convicts to the other side of the world required seaworthy vessels, experienced men and much equipment. From an early stage in planning it was decided that the voyage would be made financially viable by hiring vessels that could use the run to Botany Bay as part of a much longer haul. As the various governmental departments involved began work the East India Company's two leading officials were informed:

> In the course of this day you will probably receive a letter from Lord Sydney one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State signifying to you that a certain number of Convicts are intended to be sent to Botany Bay in New South Wales; It has occurred to . . . the Treasury that the charge of sending out the Convicts will be much lessened if the Ships which convey them to the said place can have a freight of Tea home from China, and that a considerable saving will also be effected to the East India Company thereby, I am therefore commanded . . . to desire You will submit this suggestion to the Court of Directors for their consideration.[40]

Lord Sydney wrote – at length – the same day. Overcrowding in gaols and hulks presented dangers of escape and the spread of 'infectious Distempers', making it all the more imperative to send out of the country 'such . . . Convicts as are under Sentence or Order of Transportation'. Botany Bay had been selected, explained the Secretary of State, for a number of reasons including the fact that the *Nautilus* having recently explored parts of the African coast, found them 'sandy and barren, and from other Causes unfit for a Settlement . . .'. Perusal of the East India Company's Charter revealed that the 'newly discovered Country' – New South Wales – 'appears to be comprehended within the limits of the Territories' granted to it. Agreement from the Court of Directors, Sydney explained, would 'not only be acceptable to His Majesty, but will be a means of preventing the emigration of Our European Neighbours to that Quarter, which mig[ht] be attended with infinite prejudices to the Company's Affairs'. Sydney also sent outline proposals of what could be involved. Two vessels should be fitted out for escort purposes and two companies of marines sent, as many of whom as possible 'should be Artificers, such as Carpenters, Sawyers, Smiths, Potters . . . and . . . Husbandmen'. There would also be a chaplain and a surgeon. Government would provide a

> number of Ships of a proper burthen to receive on board at least Seven or Eight Hundred Convicts, and that one of them should be properly fitted for the Accomodation of the Women to prevent their Intercourse with the Men.

Sufficient provisions for two years, implements and medicines would be taken. The two escort vessels could also be employed in obtaining livestock from the Cape of Good Hope or from the Molucca Islands in the East Indies and one 'if it should be thought most advisable may be imployed in conveying to the New Settlement a further Number of Women from the Friendly Islands, New Caledonia'. Expense, Sydney argued, was not important

> especially now the Evil is increased to such an alarming Degree from the inadequacy of all other Expedients that have hitherto been tried or suggested

The proposals were read and discussed in the Company's Court on 19 September 1786[41] and on the following day the *Daily Universal Register* reported:

> Government have taken up 1500 tons of shipping, at the small price of £7 per ton, to carry out the convicts to the projected settlement of Botany Bay.[42]

Initially the Navy Board chartered five transports – *Alexander, Charlotte, Friendship, Lady Penrhyn* and *Scarborough* – and three store ships *Borrowdale, Fishburn* and *Golden Grove*. Only at some point after 15 December did they take on an additional transport – the *Prince of Wales*. Other vessels may have been envisaged as well, for from Portsmouth early that month it was reported that:

> The Lords of the Admiralty have ordered another sloop of war and two transports to be got ready at this port to strengthen the expedition to Botany Bay.[43]

The transports, explained Philip Gidley King, were fitted out as for carrying soldiers:

> Except the security, which consists of very strong & thick Bulkheads, filled with nails & run across from side to side in y^e^ tween decks abaft the Mainmast with loop holes to fire between decks in case of irregularities, The hatches are well secured down by cross bars, bolts & locks & are likewise nailed down from deck to deck with oak stanchions. There is also a barricadoe of plank about 3 Feet high, armed with pointed prongs of Iron on the upper deck, abaft the Mainmast, to prevent any connection between the Marines & Ships Company, with the Convicts. Centinels are placed at the different Hatchways & a guard always under arms on the Quarter deck of each Transport in order to prevent any improper behaviour of the Convicts, as well as to guard ag^t^ any surprize.[44]

Just for good measure, as a local newspaper reported from Portsmouth early in December 1786, added precautions were taken:

> Each of the transports going to carry the convicts to Botany Bay, have two guns loaded with grape shot, pointed down the hatchway, where the convicts are to be; and which will be fired on them should any riot or mutiny happen.[45]

The transports and storeships were to be accompanied by two naval vessels – *Sirius* and *Supply*. Built in 1780 for the East India trade as the *Berwick*, the former had been purchased, fire-damaged, in November 1781 and used as a storeship during the struggle with the American colonies. Renamed *Sirius* in October 1786, she carried a crew of 160 men.[46] The second vessel, a brig-rigged sloop used as an armed tender in the enterprise, with a crew of approximately 50, was described by Captain John Hunter as 'a very firm strong little vessel'.[47] Details of the vessels involved are tabulated below.

With East India Company involvement agreed, developments proceeded apace. On 25 October 1786 a draft of the Company's licence for the *Scarborough* to participate was read and approved. Early in December draft instructions were considered, finalised and then issued by the Company to the masters of the *Charlotte, Lady Penrhyn, Scarborough* and *Alexander*. On the day that the masters received their instructions the naval authorities sought from the Company the 'Necessary Passes or Licences to enable them to proceed to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope'.[48]

Table 1

FIRST FLEET VESSELS

Name	Built	Launched	Function	Tonnage	Length	Master
Alexander	Hull	1783	Transport	450	111′ 6″	Duncan Sinclair
Borrowdale	Sunderland	1785	Storeship	270	?	Readthorn Hobson
Charlotte	London	1786	Transport	340	102′ 10″	Thomas Gilbert
Fishburn	Whitby	1780	Storeship	378	?	Robert Brown
Friendship	Scarborough	1784	Transport	275	118′	Francis Walton
Golden Grove	Whitby	1780	Storeship	350	?	William Sharpe
Lady Penrhyn	London	1786	Transport	335	103′ 5″	William Sever
Prince of Wales	London	1786	Transport	340	103′	John Mason
Scarborough	Scarborough	1783	Transport	420	109′ 3″	John Marshall
Sirius	?	1780	Flagship	540	110′	John Hunter
Supply	London	?	Tender	170	70′	Henry Ball

Sources: India Office Library and Records L/MAR/C/529, Ship details 1757–1827, n.p.; E/1/79, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1786, ff. 431, 718v; *Lloyd's List 1787 and 1788* (Gregg reprint 1969), *New-Lloyd's List* no. 1881, 15 May 1787; C. Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787–1868* (Glasgow, 1969 edn.), p. 95; J. King, *The First Fleet The Convict Voyage that Founded Australia 1787–88* (1983), pp. 15–20.

Experienced men were also required and the East India Company provided some of its best. Commanding the *Lady Penrhyn* was the close-handed William Cropton Sever.[49] The comparatively young, but highly experienced, John Marshall commanded the *Scarborough*. Born in 1757 or 1758 he had amassed a wealth of maritime experience which would be well used during the First Fleet's voyage. In 1785 he was third mate of the *Fort William*, by which time he had seen much of the known world. Four years of apprenticeship in the coasting and Baltic trades were followed by a voyage to Lisbon as second mate on the *Africa* and then to St Jago in the West Indies. In 1781 he had sailed as fourth mate on the *Deptford* to India, repeating the voyage two years later as third mate on the *Royal Charlotte*.[50] A fellow First Fleeter referred to him as 'honest Marshall', while in the opinion of Elizabeth Macarthur, a Second Fleet passenger, he was 'a plain, honest man' with a humanitarian character.[51] Commander of the *Fishburn*, Robert Brown, may perhaps be identified with Robert Ives Browne. In 1787 he was 23 years old with seven years of sea experience to his credit, including voyages to the Baltic and Mediterranean, 14 months naval service and six as master of a naval vessel.[52]

In overall command of the expedition was Captain Arthur Phillip, a fact well known to students of Australian history. Less well known, however, is that he was second choice for the important position. Initially command was given to Sir Richard Bickerton, who was reported on 19 October 1786 as having kissed George III's hand upon appointment as 'Governor of the New Settlement at Botany Bay'.[53] Knighted following the 1773 Spithead review, Bickerton returned to England from the East Indies in 1784 and two years later was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands.[54] By late November 1786 he was reported as having given up that position, presumably in preference to the new post at Botany Bay, though by the 6th newspapers reported that Phillip was going as Governor.[55] Having served in the Seven Years War, Phillip had since 1771 been farming at Lyndhurst in the New Forest. Between 1774 and 1778 he had served with distinction in South American waters on attachment to the Portuguese navy, where his duties had included transporting 400 convicts from their homeland to Brazil. By 1781 he had become a post captain in the Navy, but it was not until 17 April 1787, however, that his appointment as Governor of New South Wales was announced officially.[56] An organiser and competent administrator, but a man who made few really close friends,[57] Phillip in many ways was the ideal choice. Selection appears to have been made partially on his blended experience of farming and transporting convicts, and partially through the influence of George Rose, a near neighbour at Lyndhurst. There remains, however, a question mark over Bickerton's appointment, and a number of possible explanations present themselves. Perhaps he had a change of heart or fell ill? Perhaps, as he was not far off 60, he felt he was really too old for the rigours of what would obviously be a very demanding position? Perhaps he was the man Phillip's critics had in mind when they maintained that the only reason *he* had been appointed was 'to rid the authorities of one pressing for preferment'.[58] This argument, and a change of heart, probably offer the best explanation.

Sending the First Fleet required meticulous planning and much equipment. While fitting out took place in the Thames other parts of the operation, by dint of necessity, could only be dealt with at the last moment in Portsmouth. As the months passed, so activity grew more hectic. From Portsmouth late in October 1786 it was reported that:

> Orders are given by government for a sufficient quantity of provisions to be got ready immediately, to be put on board the transports bound to Botany Bay.

From the town a few weeks later came the news that:

> Apartments are fitting up for the reception of some of the principal officers who are going to Botany Bay, they being expected in a fortnight to arrive here, to see that all things they are to take over with them are safely put on board.[59]

While there was activity in Portsmouth, the same was true of London. Late in November tons of clothing were prepared and loaded. A Berkshire newspaper reported that the vessels would be carrying provisions, stores, ammunition, clothing, farming tools, a substantial range of seeds, oxen, sheep, hogs and fowls of 'almost every specie for food common in this country'.[60] Specialist items were also needed, some of which could be costly. From the *Sirius*, still moored in Deptford, surgeon George Worgan wrote to Phillip about the need for quantities of Peruvian bark, while also asserting that 'from the high price of the drug Navy surgeons cannot afford the vast quantity required to do justice to the men without wronging themselves . . .'.[61] To ensure a friendly reception when the Fleet arrived, particularly important given the horrors of Cook's demise and stories that aboriginal gastronomic tastes extended to human flesh, there were loaded

> toys, ribbons, and other trifling articles . . . These things are designed for presents to the natives, in order to preserve their friendship, that they may live peaceably with the new settlers.

Such were the quantities of stores and goods taken aboard that the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported on 11 December 1786 that five days earlier:

> seventeen vessels fell down the river to go to Portsmouth with stores, provisions, and for c. Botany-Bay; the men of war are all in readiness at Portsmouth to sail with them.[62]

The Christmas season brought no abatement. On 26 December two forges, smiths' and carpenters' tools and iron wares were loaded aboard a vessel in the Thames ready for a swift departure to Portsmouth, as was yet more clothing.[63]

In London Phillip was extremely vigilant, no item appearing too small or too inconsequential to evade his sharp eye. On 4 January 1787 he wrote to Under-Secretary Nepean:

> I likewise beg leave to observe that the number of scythes (only 6), or razors (only 5 dozen), and the quantity of buck and small shot (only two hundred pounds) now ordered is very insufficient, and that 20 scythes, 12 dozen of razors (at 12s. a dozen), and 5lb (? cwt) of small shot, chiefly buck, in addition to the above, is very necessary.

A week later he was stressing the urgency of 'ordering some surgeon's instruments to be sent on board the ships that carry the convicts' if their health, as well as that of the rest of the party, was not to suffer irreparably on the long voyage. On 11 April he wrote to prevent any further delays with

> respect to the ordinary caps for the convicts; one hhd (hogshead) of porter in bottles, as a present to the commanding officer in the island from which we are to procure stock, and ducats to the value of thirty pounds for the same purpose. The beer may be bought at Portsmouth, and I will find room for it on board the Sirius.

A month later he was inspecting contract bread while also imploring Nepean to 'point out to the Navy Board that for women's cloathes I have no resource, and desire them to order that they may be sent down'.[64]

While the air was thick with rumours, reports and stories of increasing preparation from January onwards, a closer view is possible through the pages of First Fleeter journals. Though the *Lady Penrhyn* had received some supplies in London, she continued to do so after her arrival at the Motherbank on 10 February 1787. Fresh beef and potatoes, 'Sour Grout', coal, ordnance stores and beer were put aboard between then and the end of March.[65] On board the *Scarborough* John Easty noted on 26 April, 'Received a fortnights Provisions from the Prince of wailes on board Every Ship that is Carrying Convicts out'.[66] To the *Sirius* were delivered 2 cwts of Portable Soup by which Lieutenant William Bradley was not over-impressed.[67] As the atmosphere grew tenser in May 1787, with everybody looking for the long-awaited signal to make ready to sail, there was much last-minute activity. On 9 May Arthur Bowes Smyth, surgeon on board the *Lady Penrhyn*, went 'to Portsmouth to purchase different necessary Articles previous to our Sailing'. Three days later the highly perishable commodities were delivered on board – 10 barrels of flour, a quarter cask of wine, a basket of cheese, 15 tons of water and 19 bags of bread.[68] Lighters, wherries and smaller craft plied between vessels, and between the Motherbank and Portsmouth. For those aboard, especially after Phillip's arrival from London, the atmosphere was highly charged.

Equipment and materials were also required by the detachment of marines accompanying the First Fleet. In its issue for 21 October 1786 the *Daily Universal Register* reported from Portsmouth:

> A number of tents are ordered to be got ready for the use of the officers, and c. till houses can be erected for them.[69]

Early in December an order for materials requisite for a three year tour of duty was placed with the civilian contractor. Storekeepers at both Plymouth and Portsmouth were subsequently ordered to provide two years' supply of light clothing for marines.[70] Later that month Major Ross listed the impedimenta needed to lodge the garrison upon arrival in Australia; as part of that operation Quartermaster Furzer was ordered to inspect a quantity of camp equipment originally provided for the American campaign but which, for eight years, had been stored in Portsmouth yard.[71] Some 200 cotton check shirts, supplied by Mr Prater, were sent to the Portsmouth Quartermaster for the detachment.[72] In mid-January 1787 Admiralty Commissioners instructed that light clothing for two years 'shall be put on board two of the Transport Vessels'. Early in March it was ordered that:

> The whole Detachment are to be completed as follows viz Each Man to have Six good Shirts three pair of Shoes, – four pair of Stockings – three pair of Trowsers – a leather Cap and Stock, likewise what small Articles are absolutely necessary – They are to be fitted with as soon as possible so as to be

ready to embark at an Hours Notice.[73]

As this order was being issued Lieutenant Bradley noted in his journal: 'Camp Equipage for 660 Tents were rec[d] and distributed to the different ships'.[74] Weapons, too, were needed and early in the preparations the Admiralty had alerted the ordnance authorities of their needs. Some 200 short land muskets with steel rammers and bayonets were 'to be supplied in equal proportions for the Detachments of Marines going from Portsmo[uth] and Plymouth to Botany Bay'. The weapons, with various other items, were to be delivered to Deptford where the *Sirius* was fitting out. From the marines' headquarters in Plymouth was requested a set of colours 'if they can be spared'.[75] The one item spared, indeed woefully overlooked, in all these meticulous preparations was sufficient ammunition! While Phillip was able to beg and borrow some from Portsmouth, not until the Fleet reached Brazil were 10,000 rounds purchased from the Portuguese authorities there.[76] Fortunately, the convicts lived in utter ignorance of this fact!

For navigational equipment, approaches were made to the Board of Longitude. On 14 November 1786 Astronomer Royal Dr Maskelyne informed the Board that marines Lieutenant William Dawes on *Sirius* which 'is going with the Convicts to Botany Bay on the Coast of New Holland' was

> desirous of making useful Nautical and Astronomical Observations in his passage thither, and during his stay there, if he could be allowed the use of some Instruments belonging to the Commissioners of the Longitude, to enable him so to do . . .

The Board felt, however, that such equipment would be better cared for in Phillip's direct personal charge, especially as he had requested loan of a Kendal's timekeeper for the voyage, and informed him accordingly on 21 November. Phillip wrote from *Sirius* assuring the naval authorities that every care would be taken of the equipment and that he felt himself 'under a great obligation in their granting me a time piece'.[77] At the Board's next meeting in February 1787 the Astronomer Royal proposed adaptations to three telescopes and acquisition of a 10 inch Ramsden sextant, as these would be 'useful in making nautical and Astronomical Observations on the Voyage to Botany Bay and on shore at that place'. Receipts acknowledging the loans were presented to the Board at its meeting on 21 April 1787.[78] At this juncture an important contribution to the expedition's success was made by Portsmouth Naval Academy. Phillip arrived in Portsmouth on 7 May, bringing with him the Kendal's timekeeper which was 'sent by an Officer to the Royal Academy . . . and left in charge of M[r] Bayley the Head Master'. On the 11th, noted Lieutenant Bradley, 'Waiting only for a Wind to carry the Ships to Sea, an officer was sent to bring on board the Timekeeper the rate of its going determined by M[r] Bayley the 3 days which He had it'.[79] William Bayly (1737–1810), official astronomer to Cook on his voyages and a man of considerable experience, had been Academy headmaster since 1785 and continued the tradition, established since at least the early 1760s, of regulating chronometers for expeditions.[80] So exact was his checking and so careful the use made of the instruments that a First Fleeter could write subsequently from Australia 'the Lunar Observations were and all the Voyage have been, accurate to an astonishing Nicety . . .'.[81]

To guard the convicts and maintain a firm hold on the infant settlement government decided to send out marines with the First Fleet. In his paper of 23 August 1783 first proposing colonisation at Botany Bay James Maria Matra had maintained that two ships of the peace establishment with two companies of marines and about twenty artificers 'are all the emigration required from the parent State'. When Lord Sydney informed the Treasury in mid-August 1786 that George III thought it advisable 'to fix upon Botany Bay' the proposed numbers involved would be 750 convicts and three companies of marines.[82] Final details regarding marines were set out in a letter from the Admiralty that October:

> My Lords intend that they should be formed into four Companies. Volunteers to be specially preferred upon this occasion. N.C.Os. and men making voluntary tender will, if they desire it, be allowed their discharge on their return to England, after they have been relieved (which is intended to be done at the expiration of three years) provided their good behaviour in the meantime shall entitle them to such favour, or they will be discharged abroad upon the relief and be permitted to settle in the Country if they prefer it . . .. In the appointment of Commissioned Officers, those on full pay at the different Divisions will have the first option; Commandants will please therefore send a list of names who may tender their services that the requisite appointments may be made; the same offer will be made to officers on Half Pay, if the number of officers on full pay is insufficient.[83]

Cynics observed the alacrity with which the marines came forward:

> No wonder that Marines should offer themselves to

Employment of convicts from the hulks at Woolwich, 1779.
Greenwich Local History Library

serve abroad as volunteers to Botany Bay. – Even in slavery there is bread; – and they are in want of the common necessaries of life at home.[84]

By 8 November 1786 the Admiralty had received sufficient offers from officers, and the eventual disposition was to be four companies each sixty strong.[85]

From Autumn 1786 onwards preparations went ahead to assemble the requisite force from the three Divisions at Plymouth, Chatham and Portsmouth. Late in October the Plymouth authorities were ordered to send the Admiralty a list of officers ready to embark with the detachment though they were 'not to be exchanged without their Lordships particular direction for that purpose'. From Plymouth barracks Major General Collins wrote seeking the release of Captain Campbell, Sergeant Kennedy and Private John Coultherd for the expedition.[86] Some marines anxious to offer their services were, in the event, to be denied the opportunity. Captain Coutts was prevented from going by a pension 'in consideration of a Wound received on Service which occasioned the loss of the use of his right hand'. Captain Campbell of the guardship *Carnatic* would take his place instead. Lieutenant Ivie, unfit for duty, was replaced by Lieutenant Creswell. Early in December Lieutenant James Furzer was instructed to make himself ready, the Lords of the Admiralty 'intending to appoint him to be Quarter Master to the said Detachm[en]t'. The voluntary services of Captain Lieutenant Watkin Tench were accepted with alacrity.[87] Immediately after Christmas 1786 a small number of marines were embarked on board the *Hyaena* bound for Portsmouth. In March 1787, when the wrangling and prevarication were at an end, swift embarkation became essential. On 9 March a total of 89 marines, including six officers, went aboard the *Friendship* and *Charlotte* at Plymouth 'for the Expedition to New Holland', ready to be shipped to Portsmouth.[88]

Similar preparations, though not as extensive, were under way at Chatham, where the officer commanding was informed early in October 1786 of plans to send marines to New South Wales. While the bulk of the men would be taken from the Plymouth and Portsmouth Divisions:

> in the Appointment of the Commissioned Officers for this extra Service, those of the Several Classes now on Full Pay at the different Divisions, who are desirous of being so employed, will be first accepted . . .

Within less than a fortnight a list of Chatham volunteers had been placed before the Lords of the Admiralty, though Captain Lieutenant Berkeley was to be disappointed in his hope of being detachment Adjutant as 'the Appointment . . . is already disposed of'. During November and December 1786 the four Chatham marines officers who had volunteered their services were ordered to make their way to Portsmouth in readiness 'to embark with the Detachment from that Division'.[89]

In the Portsmouth Division the men volunteered very rapidly. A local newspaper takes up the story, with an item dated 13 October:

> Wednesday morning an order arrived here for a draft of 80 men, with a proportionate number of officers, to be made from this division of marines, in order to guard the convicts to Botany Bay. When it was first made known in the barracks, upwards of 130 immediately offered voluntarily to embark on that service, out of which number the draft was compleated.[90]

The division provided six officers. On the *Scarborough* were Captain John Shea and 1st Lieutenant James Maxwell. Shea, an officer since January 1773, was to die in February 1789. Maxwell, an officer since February 1776, would order the marines not to take part in the maritime frivolities attached to crossing the line and lived until the 1790s. On board the *Prince of Wales* was 1st Lieutenant Thomas Timins. An officer since November 1778, Timins was to complete nearly fifty years of loyal service. He would return to England, become a Major at Woolwich in June 1810 and Lieutenant-Colonel back at Portsmouth in January 1822. Not until April 1828 would he actually retire. On the *Lady Penrhyn* were Captain James Campbell, 1st Lieutenant George Johnston and Lieutenant William Collins. Campbell had served as an officer for thirty years before the First Fleet sailed and is known to have been still alive in 1799. Johnston, an officer since March 1776, would transfer to the New South Wales Corps and become an aide-de-camp to the Governor. Collins, an officer since November 1780, had lived on half pay between September 1783 and December 1786 doubtless explaining his involvement in the enterprise, and was to retire in December 1791.[91] Over and above the Botany Bay detachment *Sirius* and *Supply* had their own units of marines drawn from the Portsmouth Division. For *Sirius* these consisted of 2nd Lieutenant William Dawes, one corporal, one drummer and 18 privates. For *Supply* the figures were one sergeant and 10 privates. Commandant of the marines detachment, and Lieutenant Governor, was Major Robert Ross, a highly experienced but testy career officer. Though difficult, he was also humane. When mustering convicts on board the transports at the Motherbank on 13 March 1787, for example, he did not appear too alarmed when some

gave their names as 'Major', 'Gash', 'Bone', and 'Black Jack', noting that the convicts 'seem perfectly satisfied and obedient'. Sickness amongst his detachment, however, gave him real cause for concern. On 13 April he wrote:

> I have to request you will please to inform their Lordships that the sickness which has, and still does prevail among the marine detachment embarked on board the Alexander, transport, gives me a great degree of concern. Since the time of their first embarkation no less than one serjeant, one drummer, and fourteen privates have been sent sick on shore from her, some of whom, I am informed, are since dead.

Part of the problem, he explained, stemmed from the fact that the marines were quartered beneath the seamen and were, in consequence, 'excluded from all air, but what passes through the hatchway leading from the seamen's birth, which must in some degree render it putrid before it reaches the others'. Their present quarters, he maintained, were fit only for 'stowing away provisions'. He was also upset to find that marines and their families were on short ration. Some improvements were effected, especially for those marines who had fallen ill; they were to be admitted to Haslar Hospital as opposed to the Marine Infirmary in Portsmouth. His concerns apart, Ross was certainly aware of the great responsibility and trust assigned to his detachment:

> . . . this is the first instance in which the corps of marines has been employ'd in any way out of the usual line of duty, and as I firmly believe that any part of it being so employ'd is entirely owing to your friendly wish of drawing the corps forth from that subordinate obscurity in which it has hitherto moved . . . permit me . . . to assure you that every nerve shall be strain'd in the faithful and diligent discharge of our duty, . . . and . . . we shall no more return to our original obscurity, but become an active corps . . .[92]

Many of the convicts loaded aboard the First Fleet had committed seemingly trivial offences which had nevertheless resulted in a sentence of transportation. While the laws were probably harsher in theory than in reality, many offences could nevertheless result in transportation. While 'all prisoners were medically examined prior to embarkation . . .' the authorities were anxious to rid themselves of long term prisoners and those who were most troublesome, in order that the constant stream of new ones could be accommodated.[93] Furthermore, in some respects transportation and the possibility of ultimate success and respectability was probably preferable in the minds of many to a living hell of floating detention near Woolwich or in Langstone Harbour.[94] Some communities endeavoured to make the most of the opportunity and rid themselves of undesirables. From Norfolk the Great Yarmouth authorities wrote to Lord Sydney in October 1786 listing eight malefactors who should be transported. The local gaol, the authorities argued, was inadequate:

> we being informed that a very great number of Convicts are intended shortly to be sent to Botany Bay humbly request your Lordship to be pleased to order that the undernamed Convicts in the s[ai]d Goal being all strong able men may be part of the number so intended to be transport[e]d and that they may be received on board the transport Ships appointed for that Purpose.[95]

If contemporary newspaper evidence is to be believed, reactions to transportation sentence were not as grave as might have been expected. One defendant openly boasted at his trial that he had taken to crime 'merely for the purpose of being sent to Botany Bay, at the expence of Government'. Reports circulated in October 1786 of a gentleman's recent visit to Newgate where he was astonished to see a party of Botany Bay-bound convicts engaged in a ball!

> Having regarded for a time the mixture of finery and rags, which prevailed in the motley assemblage, he remarked to a person near him how strange their merriment appeared in such a situation; a convict overhearing him, rejoined, "*Merry*! ay why not? do

you but join our party, and you'll find in a short time that you'll be quite *transported*".

There were others, however, who felt that the number of executions and transportation sentences, allegedly larger in Great Britain than in the rest of Europe, reflected shortcomings in the legal system. At the same time there were people anxious to go as volunteers, as the *Daily Universal Register* made clear:

> Since the Botany Bay scheme has been projected and publicly made known, almost daily applications have been made at Lord Sydney's office by artificers in different branches, to accompany the felons thither, in order to assist in forming and bringing to maturity the intended new settlement. This is perhaps not much to be wondered at, when we consider how greatly the professors of every branch of business have encreased within these few years; so much indeed as to render employment uncertain in many trades, at which formerly a comfortable livelihood used to be obtained. How far it may be found policy in government to permit as many as are willing to embark, we will not say, but a limited number of several different professions, we suppose, will of necessity have leave to go.[96]

Offences leading to transportation varied considerably. At the Old Bailey in September 1786 Ann Smith was sentenced – as a warning to others – to seven years for stealing pewter pots. So, too, was Ann Randall later that year, still at large despite a fourteen year transportation sentence for shop-lifting. Burglary, the theft of items such as wheat, lead, a chest of tea, hosiery or poultry could also lead to transportation. At Surrey Quarter Sessions in January 1787 Elizabeth Wilkes was sentenced to be transported for fourteen years for receiving a length of rope, for which she paid 10*d*., knowing it to have been stolen. For stealing linen two men received seven years' transportation at Reading in March 1787, a fate that also befell Joseph Andrews at Manchester a few months later.[97] In the Portsmouth area the law was applied equally harshly, criminals being just as agile and hardened. For habitually thieving items of clothing and shoes from two Portsea households early in 1786 George Brown was sentence to be transported 'to such Place beyond the Seas as his Majesty in Council shall be pleased to direct for the Term of Seven Years'. That October John Stone received a similar sentence for stealing a silver tablespoon from Portsmouth gaolkeeper Thomas Bromfield. John Tier, a notorious Portsmouth criminal who had been condemned for horse-stealing, reprieved and 'sent to the Thames for two years', received transportation in January 1787 for stealing five shirts. The Winchester Assizes that March produced a similar crop of punishments – Benjamin George for assault with intent to rob on Joseph Patrick at Portsmouth and Thomas Cooper for stealing two sows from Thomas Merrett of Fareham. Timothy Dyer and William Smith, who stole a gun, clothes and a hatchet from George Burnett of Whippingham in the Isle of Wight, were to be transported, as were William Crapp and William Tarrant for assaulting and robbing Thomas Snare of two guineas on Portsdown Hill.[98]

The First Fleet's hallmark proved to be endless delay. Press coverage, remarkable for its detailed nature, endeavoured to provide avidly interested readers with the latest available morsel of relevant news. From the time, early in September 1786, when newspapers reported that convicts under sentence of transportation would be sent to the new settlement, the public appetite was whetted. And yet hardly had the announcement been made than the concept of delay was introduced. A total of 850 souls – 700 men and 150 women – would be going, it was reported late in September 1786. Within a few weeks, however, the local newspaper reported from Portsmouth:

> The convicts now confined on board the Fortunee prison-ship, in Lanstone (sic) harbour, are all to be provided with new cloathing, and c., previous to their embarking for Botany Bay, which will be early in the ensuing year.

For much of that autumn rumours about the Fleet's leaving were rife. Reports in October indicated December as a likely sailing time, though at the end of that month a Winchester-based newspaper reported assembly of the vessels by 4 November 'soon after which they are expected to sail'.[99] As Autumn progressed a Christmas departure was being mooted, though by mid-December the prognostication was that the transports would not 'sail till some time in January'. Not until Christmas Day 1786 was any firm sailing date given, two provincial newspapers earmarking 12 January 1787 as *the* date, a fact corroborated by a national newspaper. That same source indicated, in its issue for 8 January, that by the end of the following week 'they will probably sail'. As delays mounted attention shifted to the implications of such developments. The crime rate, it was argued, was being affected adversely:

> Botany Bay has made the Shop-lifters and Pick-pockets more daring than ever. To be rewarded with a settlement in so fertile a country, cannot fail of

inducing every idle person to commit some depradation, that may amount to a crime sufficient to send him there at the expense of the public. Botany Bay now is the cant phrase for picking pockets.[100]

Full details of the Fleet's proposed course were published in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. Skirting the Canary Islands the vessels would make for the South American coast 'to get the trade winds' and then to the small, but well provisioned, island of Trinidada; 'Such an island', concluded the report, 'not inhabited, cannot fail of being a considerable half-way call to the Botany-Bay voyagers . . .'. There they could be 'recruited in their health, without the danger of escaping'. From Portsmouth on 13 January 1787 it was reported that:

> The men of war and transports destined for Botany-Bay, are taking in their stores, and c. with all expedition, as we are well assured that they are to sail early the beginning of next month.

Once more delay became uppermost, the *Reading Mercury* going so far as to suggest that the entire project was likely to founder:

> Botany Bay still continues to be a subject of town talk, without any body seeming to know any thing at all about the matter. First, it is Botany Bay where the convicts are to be transported to; then it is not Botany Bay in that huge island New Holland, but the small rock called New Norfolk in the South Sea! Then it is both Botany Bay and Norfolk! then it is neither of them, but where the Commodore can conveniently dispose of them, at Botany Bay, New Norfolk, or the Lord knows where! wherever he can shoot his rubbish!
>
> It is very little difference to the bulk of the destined wretches which of those remote places they are bound for. We believe the first land that two-thirds of them will reach, will be the bottom of the sea, there to make a final deposit in the bosom of the great deep; and probably there will be but a dark account of the remaining third part!

As if to emphasise this fact, news emanated from Portsmouth of orders to halt embarkation of live cattle on the Botany Bay ships. 'It is supposed the reason is, that the ships must wait till more convicts arrive from London'. Even so, the authorities proceeded with preparations on other fronts. In an attempted solution to another problem 40 deserters were sent from the Savoy to Gravesend under an escort of 60 soldiers, and then shipped round to Portsmouth, arriving on 21 January.

Early in February it was announced that government had taken up two more large ships 'it being determined to keep the gaols as clear as possible'.[101] More and more convicts were moved from prisons; early on a bleak February morning '80 . . . under sentence of transportation in Newgate were delivered on board a vessel appointed for their voyage'. Later that month the process was accelerated:

> Orders are come to Newgate from the Secretary's office, for the convicts that are sentenced for tranportation to be sent off, as soon as the session is over, for Portsmouth, to embark for Botany Bay or Africa, as the ships will sail together, till they come to the coast of Africa.

But by late February there were disturbing reports from Portsmouth – convict health on the vessels was beginning to break. The *Daily Universal Register* gave the news to its readers:

> A letter from Portsmouth says, that the convicts die very fast, occasioned by such numbers being stowed together under the decks, where they can have but very little air; and therefore orders are given, that ten at a time be permitted to walk the deck for one hour, under a guard of soldiers; and that the part where they are shall be smoaked every week, and ventilators are fixing to draw out the foul air, and let in fresh, which will preserve the lives of many of them.

Such horror stories did not, however, deter the authorities from their ultimate objective and convict movement to Portsmouth continued. While 'several' were despatched from Newgate to Portsmouth on the morning of 27 February, extra guards had to be drafted in, there 'being more convicts for Botany Bay than were expected'. A large contingent was moved, in six heavily-guarded wagons, from the Woolwich hulks *via* Guildford where one of them 'the noted Thomas Eaglis' was 'well known'. Following a night's stop at Godalming they reached Portsmouth on 2 March:

> The weather being tempestuous, they were put on board the Gorgon, in Blockhouse Hole; and on Sunday they were removed to the different transports at the Motherbank, and will sail in a few days for Botany Bay.[102]

The numbers of waiting transports at Portsmouth were

swelled in mid-March as more vessels, with their miscreant cargoes, arrived from Plymouth. Readers of the *Hampshire Chronicle* learnt of:

> A true state of the ships going to Botany Bay, now lying at the Motherbank, viz. the Alexander, Duncan Sinclair, with 203 male convicts, and marines; the Lady Penryn, William C. Sewer, with 200 female convicts; the Scarborough, John Minshall, with 185 female convicts; the Prince of Wales, Geo. Mason, with female convicts, marines, and their wives; the Borrowdale, Holson Reed, the Golden-Grove, William Sharp, and the Fishburn, Robert Brown, with provisions and tools.
>
> Also the Charlotte, Thomas Gilbert, and the Friendship, Francis Walter, now lying at Plymouth, with marines, and convicts.

By late March waiting was no longer a minor irritant and conditions were serious:

> The convict ships now lying at the Motherbank destined for Botany Bay, are so very sickly, they are ordered into harbour to be fumigated.[103]

Uncertainty and endless delays apart, newspapers were nevertheless providing details of proposed future actions, even though the fleet to set the whole process in motion was still at its moorings:

> It is the intention of government, as soon as the settlement in Botany Bay is fully formed, and Commodore Phillips has sent home his dispatches (which cannot however be expected for twelve months at least from the time of his sailing) to send out two ships every year with convicts for the complete peopling of the colony, and getting rid of a set of people whom this over cloyed country vomits forth. In the meantime the convicts will be employed at Woolwich in raising ballast, and on board the prison ships at Portsmouth and Plymouth in picking oakum and spinning rope yarn, and c. Besides which there are to be hulks at Bristol, Leith and Harwich, to receive persons under sentence of tranportation from other parts of the kingdom.

For what must have seemed an eternity, both to those cooped up on board the vessels and to those viewing the ships from the shore almost as fixtures, the waiting continued. Early in May more convicts arrived in Portsmouth, including two wagon loads removed from Newgate 'said to be destined . . . to embark on board the ships bound for Botany Bay'. Arriving on the afternoon of Thursday 3 May the confined female passengers were immediately put on board the waiting vessels. Not until 10 May 1787 did the *Daily Universal Register* advise its readers that 'It is said his fleet will sail on Sunday for Botany Bay'.[104] Six months of agonising, prevarication, uncertainty and inhumanity had almost ended.

By early May one thousand or more people were aboard the First Fleet vessels at their Motherbank anchorage. The distribution of convicts by vessel at the time of sailing is tabulated below:

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CONVICTS BY VESSEL, 13 MAY 1787

Vessel	Surgeon	Males	Females
Alexander	William Balmain	195	—
Charlotte	John White	88	20
Friendship	Thomas Arndell	76	21
Lady Penrhyn	John Turnpenny Alltree Arthur Bowes Smyth	—	101
Prince of Wales	—	1	49
Scarborough	Denis Considen	208	—
	Totals	568	191

Source: C. Bateson, *op cit.*, p. 100.

Some transfers between transports in April, sixteen deaths on the *Alexander*, one on the *Lady Penrhyn* and the granting of two pardons and consequent return to shore of the men involved,[105] resulted in the figures outlined above. To the convicts could be added crews, marines, their wives, officers, members of the official party and a liberal sprinkling of children. Some of those aboard the various vessels consigned their reflections and feelings to paper; survival of their journals, letters and other evidence permits a gauging and reconstruction of reactions. Furthermore, those reactions are remarkable for both their broad social base and their depth. From the highest to the lowest comes a profound insight into a unique and unprecedented human experience – a 15,000 mile voyage terminating on the far side of the World in what was to become England's remotest colony.

On board *Sirius* was the highly experienced Scots-born John Hunter who had gone to sea in 1754, been present at

the reduction of Quebec and served on the Jamaica station. In addition, he had already served on the *Sirius* when she had been the *Berwick*. He was appointed the Second Captain in Phillip's absence, 'the first instance in our service' he noted proudly in his journal. On 21 February they had arrived at the Motherbank:

> at this anchorage, all the transports and store-ships were directed to rendezvous; the latter were already arrived, and, while we lay here, the other transports joined us from the westward.

His account, concise and matter of fact, is remarkable for its detail and humanity. He noted, for example, in addition to ship details, that 'a surgeon and three assistants . . . embarked in the transports, with medicines and necessaries for the people under their care'.[106] Also aboard *Sirius* was Lieutenant William Bradley, R.N. who had gone to sea aged fifteen and had already served under Phillip in *Ariadne*. Commissioned Lieutenant on 25 October 1778, he had served in the East India Squadron under Sir Edward Vernon before being appointed, on 25 October 1786, first lieutenant on *Sirius*. A fellow First Fleeter was to describe him as an 'officer of more than common abilities'.[107] His journal, fascinating for both its clarity and calligraphy, reveals warmth and a certain insight into the expedition's forlorn side. On 18 January 1787 he noted receipt of orders to 'proceed to Portsmouth with the Alexander & Lady Penryhne as soon as they joined us: These Orders were pleasing to us . . .'. On the following day he commented on an attempted escape from the *Alexander*, observing 'such an attempt appears strange, as it would have been impossible for any of them to have effected their escape, . . . had they all been loose in the place of their confinement . . .'. Having arrived at the Motherbank, Bradley noted the loading of 210 convicts 'in Sailing Lighters belonging to the Dock Yard . . . on board the Alexander and Scarborough Transports'. He detailed the steps taken to smoke and whitewash the *Alexander*, the 'greater part of the Convicts . . . having been embarked near 3 Months & being rather sickly'. Having previously listed the navigational equipment loaned to Phillip he then noted that it was sent to the Naval Academy for regulation shortly before departure.[108]

What passed through his mind then, but what was not reflected in his journal, was that the Academy had been his home, and that this two brothers, James and John, were members of the teaching staff.[109] He would also have reflected upon a letter he had written from the Academy just a month before his appointment to *Sirius*. Worth quoting in its entirety, it sheds valuable light on the reasoning behind participation by some First Fleeters:

> Hon[ourab]le Gentlemen
>
> The great respect I have for the service under your Direction and not having sufficient Interest with any Individual has induced me to take the liberty I have done in adressing the Hon[oura]bl[e] Court of Directors to solicit a Mates Appointment in one of their Ships trading to India: I have served 8 Years Lieut[enant] in the Navy and in India a great part of the last War, am perfectly acquainted with the Lunar Observations so necessary to be used in those Voyages and will engage to Devote my whole attention strictly to the Interest of my Employers, should this my application be favored
>
> I have the Honor to be
> with great Respect
> Your Most Ob[edien]t Humb[le] Serv[an]t
> Will[ia]m Bradley

The letter, written on 24 September 1786, was read by the East India Company's Court of Directors three days later.[110] Clearly Bradley was a young man seeking both advancement and adventure. Little did he realise how swiftly both desires would be met.

Fellow lieutenant on *Sirius* and aide-de-camp to Governor Phillip was Cornishman Philip Gidley King who had volunteered to serve in New South Wales. In 1770, aged 12, King had enlisted and served for five years in the East Indies before transferring to American waters. In 1780 he was in the Channel Fleet and then, three years later, sailed to India with Phillip on the *Europe*. There his service had so impressed Phillip that he was subsequently to select him as 2nd lieutenant for the Australian undertaking. Like Hunter's journal King's was plain, factual and straightforward. It revealed little about the time spent at Motherbank but for important details about the eve-of-sailing payment dispute. As he explained, the seamen of the transport and store ships 'had been in employ upwards of seven Months, during which time they had received no pay except their River pay & one Months advance'. And he had noted earlier 'I think the Seamen had a little reason on their Side'.[111] Little did he realise at the time of compiling his journal that his destiny was to be the first commandant of the Norfolk Island settlement, to serve in Australia for nearly two decades and become its third Governor. Nor did he realise that on board the *Lady Penrhyn* was convict Ann Inett, a 30 year old mantua maker transported for house-breaking, by whom he was to have two sons.[112]

From on board *Sirius* midshipman Newton Fowell wrote at least three letters to his father in Devon regarding his impending departure. In mid-April he outlined the frustration and uncertainty involved in waiting, exacerbated by

rumour and counter-rumour that the Fleet might not actually sail. At the same time he provided an insight into the value of his going:

> We donot (sic) expect to sail this Month and I hear in London it is Reported we are not going at all but I will not believe that if I was almost sure it was true as I wish to go and I am sure it will be the only way for me to get Preferment Indeed I dont look on that a doubt as I almost think I am sure of it . . .

The urgency of the situation seemed to press in on him:

> Nothing at Present makes me the least uneasy except that of Capt[ain] Philip's not coming down to go to sea as I wish to go as soon as possible . . .

At the same time his mind ran to creature comforts. Thus he requested from his father 'a Pot of Cloted Cream', adding 'I should think it the best present of the sort you could send me'. He also found time to search out and plead for a convict, a benign reflection upon both himself and Captain Thomas Gilbert on whose vessel the unfortunate was confined:

> have found out Widdicombe he is on board the Charlotte and the Capt[ain] of her has told me if I could Mention any thing he could do for him he w[oul]d do it with Pleasure

Just three days before sailing Fowell wrote to his father again what 'in all probability is the last Letter you will get from me before we leave England'. By now he was concerned about going ashore to say final farewells and collect linen 'which if I cannot get to day will be left behind'. There were financial worries as well:

> We have not yet been paid any Advance it will be paid today and supposed only two Months, the Men Murmur very much as most of them have 6 Months Pay due – there is no news stirring about Portsm[ou]t[h]

adding darkly, at the letter's end, 'I only wish the men may be contented with the Advance they will get'.[113]

Fellow midshipman, and subsequently mate, on *Sirius* was Daniel Southwell. Then in his early twenties, he had already served on five naval vessels though as he subsequently pointed out 'tis pretty well 4 Years since I was at Sea in any Weather . . .'. Recovering from a recent illness when he joined the First Fleet, Southwell nevertheless felt it incumbent 'not to sue for any indulgence in that Respect . . .'. Accordingly he

> kept the Deck, and acted in my Station – but for very few hours – for we had hardly got the Anchors up before the Govenor told me by no means to keep Watch or to expose myself to the W[eathe]r 'till I found my self fully recovered in health and Strength

Replete with self-confidence, and with literary tastes from Bunyan to Swedenborg, Southwell reassured his mother about the long voyage:

> never be uneasy a moment for me, but rather con-

LEFT: *Lieutenant Philip Gidley King (1758–1808). Sailing with the First Fleet as 2nd Lieutenant* on SIRIUS, *King became the first Lieutenant Governor of Norfolk Island and was Governor of New South Wales 1800–1806.*
Royal Marines Museum, Eastney

RIGHT: *David Collins (1756–1810). Sailed with the First Fleet as Advocate-General of New South Wales. Served as the first Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land, 1803–1810.*
Royal Marines Museum, Eastney

> gratulate me on my good Fortune in this Destination which is highly agreable to me in many respects and may be advantageous for I rely on the Goveners good Offices . . .[114]

Chaplain to the First Fleet and the new colony was Richard Johnson who sailed on the *Golden Grove*. His appointment was made through influence and initially Johnson had grave reservations about the whole enterprise:

> In the Evening of the 23^{d} of September, 1786, I was asked by a Friend, if I had got the spirit of a Missionary? – Or, if I wished to go abroad? I smiled & replied – No – I had no Inclination or Thoughts of ever leaving My Native Country
>
> On the 30th of the same month, I received a Letter from another Friend, informing Me that a Colony was going to be established in New Holland, or New Zealand – that a Chaplain was wanted – that Application had been made to him, to know whether he knew of any one proper for & willing to undertake such an arduous work & that if I chose to accept of, he c[oul]d secure me the appointment.

The combination of 'Prayer & Fasting' and 'divine direction what to do in an Affair of so weighty Moment' enabled him to make the final decision to accept appointment and accompany the Fleet. Certainly, he reasoned, there were drawbacks – separation from family and friends, the 'dangers of the sea', the voyage to 'the very ends of the earth to a Country wild & uncultivated – to be exposed to savages, & perhaps to various wild Beasts of Prey'. On the other hand, there were inherent compensations:

> The Hopes & Prospects of being rendered useful in the Reformation of those poor & abandoned people – The Power & Promises of God to protect me in any place or situation wherein, in the line of duty, I followed the leading of Providence – and – The Prospects of a glorious Reward hereafter . . .

Uppermost in his mind, however, was concern for the convicts:

> From my first hearing that a Colony was about to be established . . . I always understood that it was the Intention of Government to see whether some Reformation might not be affected amongst these un:fortunate & abandoned People – Motives . . . appear very strong & sufficient Reasons for the Convicts being carefully instructed in the various & important duties of Morality & Religion – But, when it is further considered, that Convicts, as well as others, are possessed of souls that are immortal & that they must 'ere long appear before the solemn Tribunal of God; there & then to answer for their Actions – whoever considers this, . . . must . . . see & allow, that all possible means s[houl]d be made use of, to reclaim them from their former wicked Course of life . . .[115]

Nor was Johnson a mere theorist. Much of his time at the Motherbank was taken up with the practical side of ministering to his floating flock. Late in April he was asked to visit the *Friendship*. A convict child was unlikely to live until morning and 'not having been Christened – have to beg of you to be so good as to come on board and Battize it'. He conducted services on the various vessels, though on occasion there were problems:

> This day Revd. Mr. Johnson . . . is to preach on board the Alexander in the forenoon & the Lady Penrhyn in the Afternoon – but something happen'd to prevent him.[116]

Certainly all human experience was there for the minister to work upon – convict squabbles, injuries, the inevitable problem of death, and the need to keep the female convicts apart from the men, the crew and the marines.

In many respects the most fascinating, as well as the most detailed, of the Motherbank accounts was that kept by the *Lady Penrhyn*'s surgeon, Arthur Bowes Smyth. He had worked in his home county of Essex before joining the Fleet as part of a surgical team led by John White and whose other members included Denis Considen who was to serve on Norfolk Island and the London-born piano-playing George Boucher Worgan.[117] Smyth arrived in Portsmouth by mail coach on 20 March 1787, boarding his ship two days later. That part of his journal which he maintained between then and the Fleet's departure was remarkable for both its vivid nature and basic acceptance of harsh realities. Thus he wrote on 19 April:

> A corpse sew'd up in a Hammock floated along side our Ship. The Cabin, lately occupied by the 3d Mate Jenkinson, who died of a putrid fever the night before I came on board, & was buried at Ryde, was fresh painted & fumigated for me to sleep in –

At the end of April the weather worsened and the *Lady Penrhyn* dragged her anchors, Smyth noting: 'The Women very sick w[i]t[h] the motion of the Ship'. About noon on

A last view of Portsmouth from Spithead. Vessels shown are a sloop of war lying-to, a galliot gun-vessel to the left and an oyster smack in the foreground. In the background can be seen Fort Monckton, the Harbour mouth, St Thomas's and the Platform.
The Naval Chronicle, XI (Jan.–July 1804)

the 30th it 'encreased to a perfect Hurricane with hail & rain'. By 13 April fellow surgeon Richard Turnpenny Alltree, sent to convalesce on the Isle of Wight, had recovered sufficiently to walk with Smyth 'some miles at Ryde, wh[ich] is a most beautiful spot'. Visits were made to other vessels moored nearby such as the *Rose* frigate in early April and to the new East Indiaman the *Belvidere* 'built at a dock in Sussex & . . . a very noble Ship'.[118] This second visit enabled Smyth to renew his acquaintanceship with Orton, the vessel's 4th mate, who invited him to dine on board.

The surgeon also found time for pleasure trips further afield. On 16 April he walked from Wootton Bridge to Ryde and was impressed by what he saw. Five days later he visited Portsmouth, about which he remained infuriatingly silent, landing at Stokes Bay

> walk'd to Gosport at wh[ich] place we took a Boat across the water to Portsmouth. This walk at this season of the year is most delightful – the Church Yard at Stokes Bay has a prodigious number of tomb stones in it. The Clergyman of this parish enjoys a singular priviledge of marrying Couples w[i]t[h]out Licence or Bands being published, for wh[ich] reason great numbers marry there.

On the 23rd he again visited the Isle of Wight, accompanied by Captain Sever and Lieutenant George Johnstone:

> call'd on & rec'd a most friendly entertainment there from Mr. Ballard, Merch[an]t at Newport, who has also large Ovens and Biscuit Warehouses at Wooton Bridge.

Early in May there was a visit from the vessel's owners. When Smyth journeyed over to Portsmouth to bid them farewell, he noted the arrival of another 39 convicts and 2 children adding 'we had the good fortune to receive none of them'. Visits to the mainland were not clearly without effect, the surgeon noting 'had a large parcel of Water Cresses sent me as a present from Portsmouth'.[119]

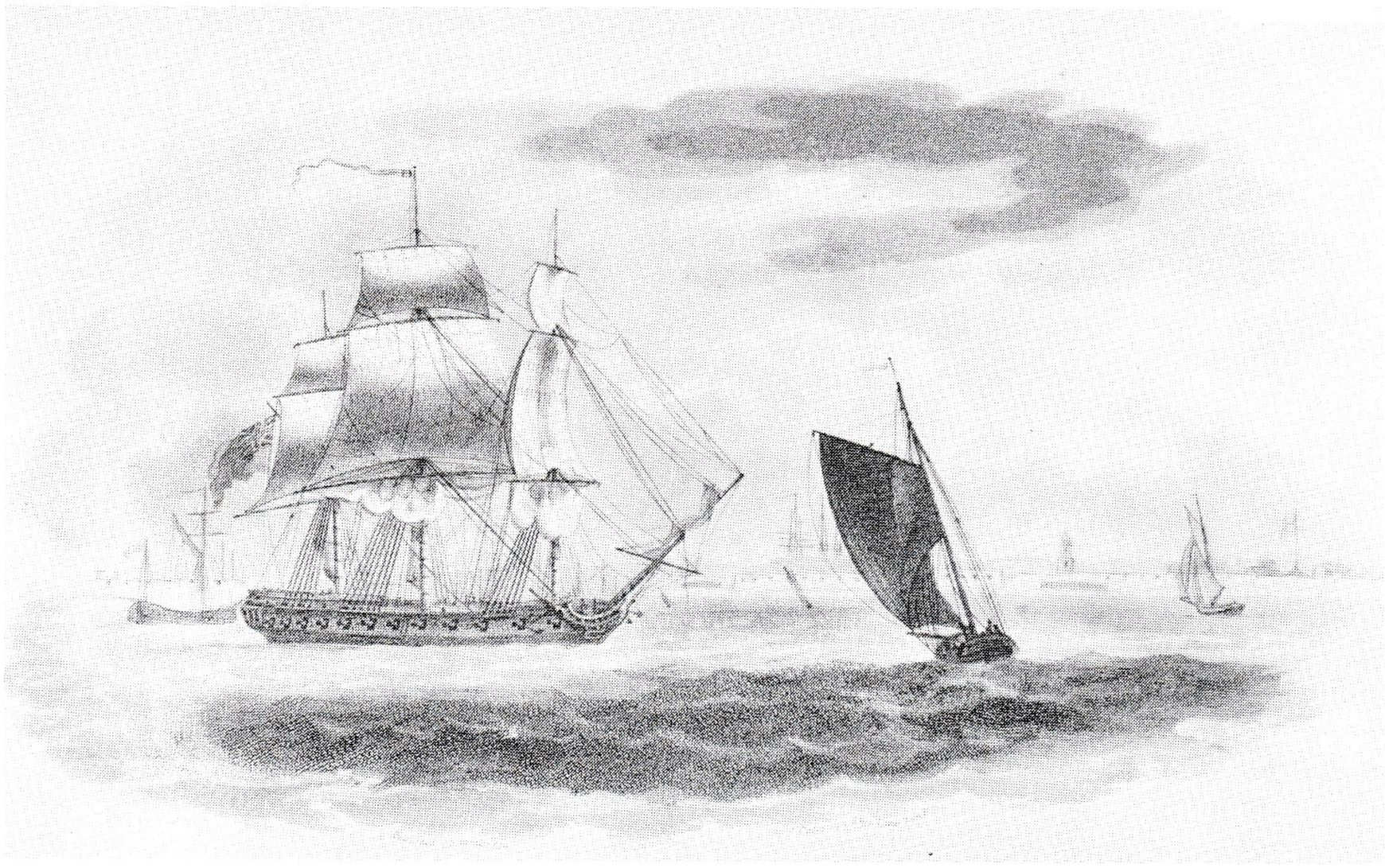
Three marines also kept accounts of what was taking place at the Motherbank. On board the *Friendship* was 2nd Lieutenant Ralph Clark who had volunteered for Botany Bay in the hopes of promotion and financial reward. Homesick beyond imagination for 'the best of Woman and Sweetest of Boys', whom he tried to take with him, Clark harboured a grudging intolerance of female convicts. Such attitudes become the harder to square when it is realised that aboard the *Lady Penrhyn* was Mary Branham, a 17 year-old housebreaker, by whom Clark was to have a daughter on Norfolk Island. Clark was certainly both competent and conscientious, endeavouring to see that the marines had adequate supplies and solving last-minute problems regarding convict correspondence. As the sailing time approached, however, he confided to a friend that he could sense a change of atmosphere amongst the marines:

> I am Exceedingly Sorrow to Say that the detachment on board here and more so on board the other Transports doe not goe out with that Spirit that was Expected the[y] would when they turnd and Volunteer for this Service.[120]

On board the *Prince of Wales* was marines sergeant James Scott who had married a local girl, Jane Boxell, at St Mary's Church, Portsea, on 26 October 1786. Sober and industrious he was, so far as is known, the only sergeant to have kept a diary that has survived.[121] Marine private John Easty maintained a remarkably frank, if somewhat skeletal, journal from November 1786 onwards. On 27 February 1787, a week after the *Scarborough* had arrived at the Motherbank, Easty and the rest of his detachment went aboard. His journal reflects amply the harshness of their surroundings – the convict 'Punished with 1 Dosen Lashes for hideing a knife in his Shoe', the surgeon who 'Left the Ship for Drunk[ed]', his own confinement later in March 'for Droping the Cutlash' and that of fellow marine Luke Haynes for 'Dessbeadeadne off orders'. There were convicts to be enshipped from the *Charlotte* 'wich Compeat us to 208'. And on Thursday 3 May:

> 1 Serj[t] and Corp[l] and 6 Private from
> Every Ship went on bord the Charllot . . .
> to see the sentance of a cort-mart . . .
> out in Exsacution held on Apri . . .
> the 22[d] on Nash belonging to
> Plymouth Division for unsoldier
> Like behaveyour sentanced 200
> and received 150 Lashes.[122]

And what of the convicts? While no First Fleet convict journal has survived, it is possible to estimate their feelings as they waited, tossed by the weather and wracked by illness, for their departure to an unknown fate. For some, particularly the younger ones, it must have seemed as something of an adventure – the start of a new life in a new land. Richard Waddicombe on the *Charlotte* was doubtless borne up by the fact that fellow Devonian Newton Fowell had done all he could to help him. For some, such as ex-marine John Small, the feeling must have been that their world had somehow been turned upside down. Still others must have felt exhausted even by this stage. The 26



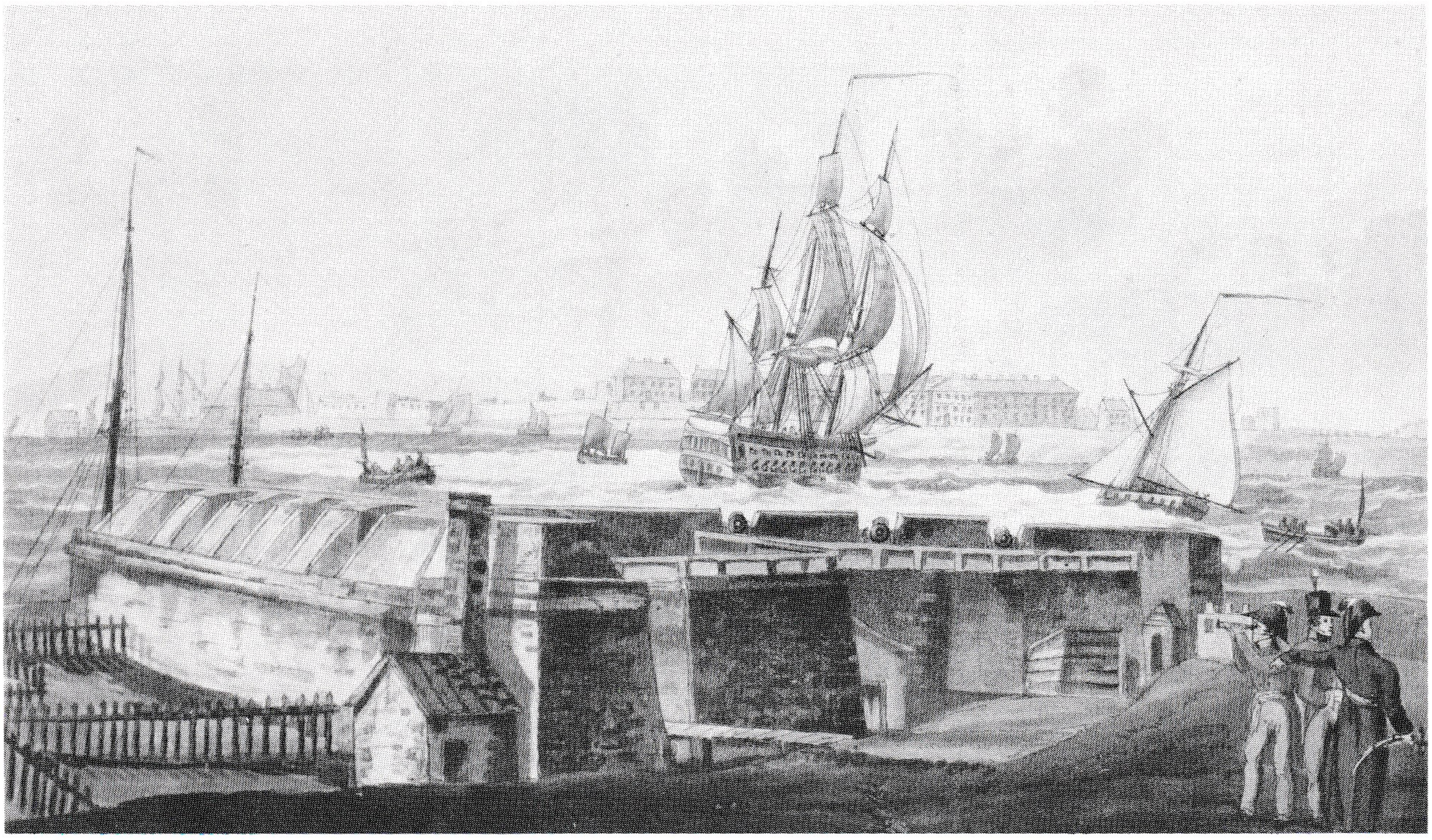
year-old shoplifter Elizabeth Pully and the 22 year-old housebreaker Susannah Holmes had been moved from Norwich to Plymouth, there put aboard the *Dunkirk* hulk and subsequently transferred to the ironically-named convict transport *Friendship*. Also moved in the same fashion, though from Preston House of Correction in Lancashire, were 22 year-old Elizabeth Thackery and 25 year-old Isabella Oldfield, both shoplifters, and 25 year-old woollen-draper Thomas Oldfield who had foolishly purchased stolen goods. Elizabeth Pully would certainly have been unaware that cooped up on board the *Alexander* was Essex labourer Anthony Rope, transported for stealing 58*s*. 6*d*. worth of goods, ranging from two gowns to a sack worth 6*d*., who would subsequently marry her.[123] On the *Charlotte* was Cornish girl Mary Bryant, whose 3,000 mile escape to Timor's freedom in 1791, eventual return to England and the patronage of James Boswell, Dr. Johnson's biographer, would make her something of a minor heroine. Perhaps she was already dreaming of escape?[124] And what must have passed through the minds of some of the *Lady Penrhyn*'s convicts? The thoughts of the 70 year-old Elizabeth Beckford, guilty of shoplifting, or of 82 year-old dealer Dorothy Handlyn, sentenced for perjury, and whom surgeon Smyth was to sketch, would have contrasted sharply with those of the frightened 13 year-old clogmaker Elizabeth Haward who was being sent to New South Wales for her thieving proclivities.[125]

Aboard the two naval vessels were a special group of men whose thoughts on leaving must have been especially sorrowful – sailors from Portsmouth and the immediate environs. On board *Sirius* were six – three from Portsmouth, two from Gosport and one from Fareham. From Portsmouth came James Heatherly or Hatherly, a 21 year-old carpenter's mate who would transfer subsequently to *Supply* and make a new home for himself in Australia. Six years older was seaman George Rider, while oldest of the three Portmuthians was James Livingstone, carpenter's mate, who can be identified with James Levingston baptised at St Mary's on 19 September 1756. From Gosport came two young men. William Marsh, 21 years old, was a member of the carpenter's crew who later switched to *Supply*. Henry/Owen Cavenaugh, then 25, was a seaman who would live in Norfolk Island for five years before settling, in 1796, at Sydney. From Fareham came 24 year-old sawyer William Westbrook who was to drown at Norfolk Island in August 1788. Aboard *Supply* were four Portmuthians. At 17 seaman Samuel Braidan was the youngest. One year older was fellow seaman John Henry Dempster. The remaining two, James and Joseph Toberry, were doubtless brothers. James Toberry, at 18 the younger of the two, was subsequently discharged at the Cape of Good Hope. Bosun's mate Joseph Toberry was, in all likelihood, the man of that name christened at St Mary's on 9 January 1763.[126] What their thoughts were must, for the present, remain conjectural. There was doubtless sorrow at leaving families and home communities. At the same time, there would have been a certain amount of apprehension and puzzlement as they looked across the water to Portsmouth's fortifications and smoke-wreathed buildings.

The First Fleet's assembling and departure exerted an impact upon the town that may be considered in three ways – short, medium and long term. In the short term there were only two main effects. A contemporary newspaper commented on the increased rate of local crime caused by the venture:

> Private letters from Portsmouth describe that town and neighbourhood to be infested with numerous groups of thieves and robbers, that scarce a night passes, in which some persons are not robbed, or some houses broken open. The villains are supposed to have belonged formerly to the hulks at Woolwich, and to have come down to see their former friends and companions. The ships for Botany Bay, these advices add, are expected to sail in ten days or a fortnight.

Gaps in Portsmouth's legal records at this point, however, make it difficult to either substantiate or disprove this



point. The second effect was felt as convicts were being loaded. While the bulk arrived by sea there were those who had to be brought into and through the town to reach their temporary maritime homes. Sixty years later a retired naval officer recounted his early memories of Portsmouth, to where his family had moved from the 'retired village of Chatham' in 1780. He added:

> The only duty I was employed on during this time was the embarkation of the first batch of convicts sent to Botany Bay, when under the command of Governor Phillips. I recollect perfectly, all the shop-windows and doors of Portsmouth being closed on this occasion, and the streets were lined with troops, while the waggons, I think thirty in number, passed to Point Beach, where the boats were ready to receive them; as soon as they were embarked, they gave three tremendous cheers, and were rowed off to the transport ready for their reception at Spithead.[127]

The absence of any official deliberation, decision or instruction upon the matter by Portsmouth's town fathers suggests that the commercial closure was either a voluntary arrangement by shopkeepers fearful of possible depradations, or the response to an official military instruction. The arrival of so many miscreants, although chained, may have caused misgivings in a town already ripe with seething tensions. For the majority of the time that preparations for the First Fleet's departure were in hand, however, the Governor was far away from Portsmouth. Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, had acquired the Governorship which he 'allways wished for' in June 1782 though he did not formally assume office until the following year. He spent summer and autumn 1786 in Portugal and Spain taking various cures before moving, by January 1787, to Paris where he remained for at least the ensuing four months. His official letter book as Governor during 1782–7 contains, as a result, no mention of First Fleet preparations. He may not have been in favour of the transportation operation at all, given the views of his near neighbour at Goodwood, the Duke of Richmond. Master General of the Ordnance, and a man whom Pembroke admired greatly, Richmond was adamant as late as December 1786 that convicts should *not* be sent in the early shiploads of people to the virgin colony.[128]

Extensive searching of Corporation records for this period reveals a distinct reticence on the part of those in authority. In their official capacity the town fathers made neither comment nor decision upon the waiting First Fleet, whatever their own private views might have been. Furthermore, it was probably pure coincidence that the sole Portsmouth burgess admitted during the preparation period was Martin Ware, Woolwich yard's master builder. Town Clerk Stephen Barney's accounts remain silent on the matter of the Fleet, as do those of Chamberlain Richard White.[129] So, too, do the papers of George Huish, an influential figure in Portsmouth for forty years or more after 1740. Quondam Town Clerk, Coroner and Clerk of the Peace, Huish was also Consul for the United Provinces, agent for their East India Company was well as England's in the town, and a Master Extraordinary in Chancery. His bill for East India Company agency work carried out during the time the Fleet was being readied provided no clues and insights, apart from a charge of 5*s*. for delivering a letter to the *Belvedere*.[130] Like his predecessors as agent, he wrote regularly to the East India Company in London keeping directors informed of Portsmouth developments. On seventeen occasions between January and May 1787 he wrote to the Company; that one letter

Spur Redoubt and the view towards Haslar Hospital. From Point Beach those convicts who had reached Portsmouth by road were carried to the waiting transports at Motherbank.
Portsmouth City Museums

was written on 13 May the very day the Fleet sailed – Rogation Sunday – offers indirect confirmation of the likely contents of this correspondence.[131] Exhaustive searches amongst the Company's voluminous archives have, unfortunately, failed to locate the tantalising set of letters.

Some sort of compassionate gesture or statement might have been expected from the church, if only a sermon by an anxious local incumbent warning his flock of the follies that could engender a transportation sentence. Instead, the records of St Thomas's, St George's and St Mary's Portsea, the High Street chapel and those of Alverstoke, Gosport, and North and South Hayling are all conspicuous for their silence on the matter. Local legal records exhibit the same reticence, but for the one transportation sentence already noted. Provision of a pass by Poor Law authorities in September 1786 to two discharged convicts from 'the Hulk at Cumberland Fort' should be seen in the wider context of ex-convict treatment as opposed to active First Fleet involvement.[132] Even press coverage of the actual sailing was terse, though understandable in some ways given that it took place in the early hours of a Sunday morning! The *Daily Universal Register* included a full list of the ships that had sailed, with other vessel movements, two days after the event. The *Salisbury Journal* used similar phraseology, but was unable to print the information until its issue of 21 May 1787. The *Hampshire Chronicle* informed its readers, somewhat abruptly, 'Sailed the Sirius frigate, Commodore Phillips, and Supply brig, Lieutenant Ball, with the convicts for Botany Bay'. The *Reading Mercury* took a 'before and after' approach. Thus in one issue readers were informed:

> The fleet with the convicts for Botany Bay has received final orders to sail from Portsmouth the first fair wind. All the convicts that are to be conveyed this season having been sent down and embarked.

Not until two issues later did readers learn that 'The Botany-Bay fleet is sailed and was all well the 20th . . .'.[133]

That there was such a low key reaction on Portsmouth's part is, in some ways, understandable. The community was inured to the arrival and departure of ships, to expeditions and the paying off of crews and consequently would have seen little in the way of the extraordinary. The arrival of a small number of transports and other vessels, even if some of their occupants were heavily fettered, would have made neither difference to, nor impact upon, the somewhat *blasé* Portmuthians of the late eighteenth century. After all, they had been accustomed to the dumping of prisoners of war by the legion upon them since the Anglo–Dutch conflicts of the previous century and had witnessed but recently the arrival of many demoralised Americans from the 1775–83 struggle. What difference would a few more unfortunates make? The matter of scale, too, needs to be borne firmly in mind. Set out below are the local merchant shipping movements during the last complete month before the First Fleet left.

Table 3 reveals a total of 66 merchant shipping movements (32 arrivals and 34 departures) through Portsmouth, to which can be added numerous movements by naval and East India Company vessels.

While ships from all over the world arrived and departed in prodigious numbers, Portmuthians simply went about their daily business. In the dockyard there was much activity. An impressive new Commissioner's residence, complete with 50 stoves despatched especially from London, was under construction. In September 1786 the Duke and Duchess of Milan toured the growing yard complex and 'seemed highly pleased with the grandeur of the spectacle'. As usual, there were plenty of comings and goings, one of the more welcome sets of visitors being the dragoons who arrived in late March 1787 with £15,000 to pay the yard workforce. In April a new Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Hood, took up his appointment. The town hosted other notable visitors as well, including the Duke of Palma, brother to the Holy Roman Emperor, and the Bey of Tripoli's ambassador who returned to his native land in April 1787 with approximately £15,000 worth of gifts. 'Activity' was also the watchword with the town's military. Early in September all the great guns were removed from the ramparts for repair, their carriages having been 'much damaged by being out all winter'. Late in December 2,000 Hessian troops arrived, to embark for service in the East Indies. In March 1787 a draft was levied of Portsmouth-based troops to create a new regiment for African service. Troops were involved, too, in the onerous responsibility of guarding convicts. In October 1786 convicts were moved from Newgate to Langstone 'to be employed in rebuilding Cumberland Fort, which is to be considerably enlarged' The 70th Regiment of Foot, having completed their tour of convict guard duty, were shipped off to Guernsey that month, to be replaced by soldiers from the 44th, who had but recently arrived from America and were overwintering at Hilsea Barracks. If anything there was probably little love lost between Portmuthians and convicts, especially after a riot on board a harbour hulk the previous March was quelled only by the killing of eight convicts and the wounding of 36 others. On a brighter note, changes were in the air as locals gossiped about the new lighthouse at the Needles and Hurst Castle and, of more immediate import to them, the proposed mail link between Portsmouth and Ryde that was news in early December 1786. Adverse forces were at work as well. Members of the business community were in financial difficulties during these

Table 3

MERCHANT SHIPPING MOVEMENT THROUGH PORTSMOUTH: APRIL 1787

Date	Arrival	From	Departure	To
1			*Minerva*	East Indies
			Olive	Mogadore[1]
			Mary	Cork
2	*Dove*	London		
	Bewley			
	Caesar			
	Jonge Pele	Texel		
5	*Forrester*	Rotterdam	*Rodney*	Memel[2]
	Two Sisters	Amsterdam		
	London	London		
	London			
8	*Charlotte*	London	*London*	Quebec
	Plymouth	Deptford		
	Deptford			
10			*Deptford*	Plymouth
			Fareham	
			Ditzmarchen	Lisbon
12	*Sally*	Cherburg	*Ranger*	Bremen
	St George	Havre-de-Grace	*Dispatch*	Sheerness
			Harrington	Plymouth
			Lyde	Revel[3]
			Rodney	Memel
			Ann	London
			Herald	Havre-de-Grace
15	*Glory*	Chepstow	*Princess Sophia Frederica*	Copenhagen
	Sybil		*Caesar*	London
			Endraught	Amsterdam
16	*Fanny*	London	*Two Gamesters*	Amsterdam
	Nancy			
	Nancy	Chester		
18	*Commodore*	Glasgow	*Unity*	London
	Mary-Ann	Gallipoli	*William and Mary*	
			Phoenix	
			Venus	
			Unity	
			Polly	
			Active	
21	*Johanna-Maria*	Bengal	*Flora*	Waterford
	Fortuna	Longfound[4]	*Duke of York*	South Seas
	William and Ann	Arundahl[5]	*Herald*	Havre-de-Grace
22	*Beaver*	Sunderland		
	Fareham	Plymouth		
	Princess Augusta			
24	*Union*	Trepany[6]	*Mary-Ann*	Stettin[7]
			Princess Augusta	London
26	*Unity*	Sunderland	*Vrow Henderheim*	Ostend
	Free Briton		*Sybil*	Chepstow
	Speedwell	London		
	Hazard	Carolina		
27	*Unity*	Newcastle	*Adventure*	Plymouth

Source: *Daily Universal Register* for April 1787

Notes:
1. Morocco. 2. Lithuania; now known as Klaipeda. 3. Estonia; now known as Tallin. 4. ? 5. Norway; Arendal. 6. Sicily; Trapani. 7. Poland; now known as Szczecin.

months. In September the town was sorely buffeted by a gale, though the ships at Spithead 'rode it well'. In March 1787 the authorities seized a large quantity of illegally imported Indian wares from the *Ranger* packet, moored at the Motherbank, including 19 bales of goods and 4 chests of tea. Just a few days before the First Fleet left the Portsea Small Debts Bill had been firmly rejected in Parliament.[134] Clearly, Portmuthians had much to exercise their minds and it becomes all too apparent that the assembling of a relatively small number of vessels at the Motherbank would have caused little or no undue immediate reaction.

In the medium term, however, it was a very different matter. Departure of the First Fleet was followed by further newspaper coverage as information reached England of the thwarted convict take-over on board the *Scarborough*, of the voyage's successful completion and of New South Wales itself. While some coverage was based upon official reports sent by Governor Phillip and his fellow officers, parts were based on first-hand personal experiences. The Reverend Charles Weedon Butler 'threw a large Extract into our Publick Papers' of nephew Daniel Southwell's correspondence as well as showing it to Sir Richard Heron, '*Sir Joseph Banks*' and '*a Friend of Mr Pitt's*'. Southwell, however, was annoyed at seeing some of it published in a copy of the *Hampshire Chronicle* drawn to his attention in the East Indies.[135] Certainly as the colony developed local newspapers carried plenty of additional information. The *Chronicle*'s coverage seemed to go full circle, publishing items such as the following in May 1792:

> The captains of the ships and store-ships that are to carry over the convicts and stores to Botany-Bay, have received orders to hold themselves in readiness, and get round to this place by the twenty-fifth of this month, as they are to sail the latter end, or the beginning of June.

Other reports ranged from an account of the Botany Bay convict theatricals performed in July 1796 to the useful occupational analysis of convicts shipped off from Portsmouth in the *Barwell* in November 1797. Magazines and journals offered extensive coverage as well, with reviews of new books on the subject as they spewed from the press.[136]

In Portsmouth there was considerable local interest in such literature. Like other great seaport communities the town prided itself on its ready availability of the latest travel and exploration works, of books on seamanship, naval lists and navigational manuals. Local bookseller John Breadhower, active in Gosport in the mid-1770s before moving to Portsmouth, carried a varied stock in his High Street premises. Accounts of particular courts martial could be found there, as could works on rambling in the Isle of Wight and local guidebooks. He subscribed to *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789), as did enterprising local businessman Andrew Lindegren. Subscribers to Captain Watkin Tench's *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales* (1793) included Marines officer Captain Madden. As the century drew to a close increasing numbers of such works would be stocked by Portsmouth's booksellers.[137]

The medium term effect was also significant inasmuch as a number of First Fleeters returned to Portsmouth. Having dumped their human cargoes in New South Wales the *Scarborough*, *Charlotte* and *Lady Penrhyn* sailed for China. *En route* each vessel made a contribution to the increasingly detailed world map. Two groups of islands sighted were named after First Fleet commanders – the Marshalls and the Gilberts. Arriving in Matavai Bay, Tahiti, in July 1788 William Cropton Sever stayed for twelve days before resuming his voyage, sighting and naming Penrhyn Island to the north west.[138] Having arrived at Whampoa on the Canton River the *Scarborough*'s crew spent late October and early November 1788 in weather John Marshall described as 'fine, clear and pleasant' repairing sails and painting and caulking the vessel's sides ready for the long voyage home. Loading operations began, some 80 half chests of silver, 6,069 chests of tea and permitted private trade items being carefully stowed aboard. On Wednesday 16 December 1788 the *Scarborough* sailed; a little over five months later, and two years since leaving Portsmouth, the ship hove to. On 27 May 1789 Marshall entered in his log:

> Isle of Wight came into view and at 4p.m. came alongside cutter in which I sent my Sirgon on Shore with the Honourable Company's Packet for London at Portsmouth and John Watts Pasinger[139]

The *Lady Penrhyn*, laden with tea and chests of skins, left China a month or so after Marshall and in his log under 7 August 1789 Captain Sever entered:

> Sent Capt[ain] Humphreys on shore to Portsmouth in a Cowes boat with the Hon[oura]ble Company's Packet accompanied him Capt[ain] Lay and Countys Birkhausen.

Sever's remarks are confirmed by surgeon Arthur Bowes Smyth who also undertook the complete round voyage, with the added detail that the Cowes pilot boat charged six guineas for the eight hour trip into Portsmouth![140]

Three years later more First Fleeters returned to the

VOYAGE

OF

GOVERNOR PHILLIP

TO

BOTANY BAY;

with an

Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of

PORT JACKSON & NORFOLK ISLAND

compiled from Authentic Papers,

which have been obtained from the several Departments.

to which are added,

The Journals of Lieut.ᵉ Shortland, Watts, Ball, & Capt.ⁿ Marshall,

with an Account of their New Discoveries

embellished with fifty five Copper Plates,

The Maps and Charts taken from Actual Surveys,

by the Officers employed on the Spot,

by Capt. Hunter, Lieut.ᵉ Shortland, Watts, Dawes, Bradley, Capt. Marshall, &c.

LONDON

Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly,

MDCCLXXXIX.

The title page to The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay (1789).
Royal Marines Museum, Eastney

town. The *Hampshire Chronicle* reported in late April 1792:

> Came into the harbour the Waakzampheys, a Dutch vessel, from Batavia, with Captain Hunter, and the officers and crew of his majesty's late ship Sirius, from Port Jackson, which place she left in the month of March 1791.

Survivors from the Norfolk Island shipwreck, they had undergone a hair-raising ordeal before reaching Portsmouth's safe haven aboard the *Waaksamheyd*. No sooner were they home, however, than a court martial was convened on board *Brunswick* to consider the loss of *Sirius*:

> Having heard evidence, the court was of opinion that the loss of the ship was not owing to mismanagement, or a want of proper attention to her safety; and the captain, officers, and company of the said ship, were thereupon honourably acquitted.[141]

Among the survivors was mate Daniel Southwell, grateful that God had granted 'one part of our warmest request, which was for me to return in safety to my Native Land'. Acquitted, he was given more duties, found time to visit a Victualling Office friend and 'my very kind Friend the Widow Everit' at Fareham and noted cynically of his stay in Portsmouth: 'my dearly earnd Wages are flying away at a fine rate but I hope soon to be amongst Friends and not Extortioners'. Time was taken up endeavouring to secure another appointment, which eventually materialised when he became mate of the *Royal William*. In June 1793 he was back in Portsmouth having recently been transferred to Admiral Howe's vessel. He explained to his uncle one of the perils of the sailor's life:

> The Lads of the Adm[ira]l['s] Ship Queen Charlotte are I find rather on the Top gallant order with which and the after consequent Expences of a Commission – shou'd we receive one 'tis possible I might on finishing our Expedition find myself at the Pinch.

Increasingly anxious to sail, he reminded his uncle of a previous conversation:

> You Yourself once did tell me . . . or ask me, If 'Botany Bay wou'd not sound as well at the Day as Nich[olas] L[an]e or Chelsea',? so also I imagine Africa or the Sea between it and us.[142]

Marine sergeant James Scott returned home with his wife and family on board the *Gorgon* and was discharged at Spithead on 21 June 1792. He served as a squad sergeant in Portsmouth until his death in late March or early April 1796. Marine John Easty returned home in 1793 and wrote of his 'unspeakable Joy' at being back 'in old England'.[143] Governor Phillip returned, to be given, in 1798, command of the Sea Fencibles in Hampshire. The brainchild of Captain Home Riggs Popham, the Fencibles were fishermen, coaster crews and other watermen who, with appropriate military training, would form the first line of defence in event of a Napoleonic invasion. Subsequently Phillip was to command the Sea Fencibles force throughout England.[144] The strangest fate of all befell Lieutenant William Bradley, who had returned with Hunter and the other survivors. On 28 April 1792, at George III's behest, Bradley was appointed a Commander. For his part in the Glorious First of June action he was promoted Captain and subsequently served on the Halifax station before being appointed, in 1810, to the impressment service at Cowes. By this time, however, his mental grasp was giving cause for concern and in September 1812 he was superannuated as a Rear Admiral. The worst fears were confirmed two years later when Bradley appeared at Winchester Assizes on a charge of defrauding postal authorities. Though clearly deranged by that time he was nevertheless tried, found guilty and sentenced to death, reprieved only on condition of his being transported for life! This must have rekindled for him memories of his own experiences three decades before. In October 1814 he was pardoned, on condition that he went into exile and between then and his death in 1833 he lived in France.[145] A naval career that had seen promise, colour and achievement ended in sad and bitter ignominy.

Despatching the First Fleet from Portsmouth left some long term effects as well. While adding yet another strand to the story of the town's complex development, the events of May 1787 also provided a precedent. The assembly and sailing of convict fleets was to become a regular, almost monotonous, sight at Portsmouth for the next seventy years. Newgate and the hulks disgorged their inmates in droves, though the idea of some using public transport to Portsmouth on the first leg of the long voyage to Australia provoked both outrage and disgust. The local newspaper commented that it was 'a practice exceedingly offensive to public decency, and destructive of public morals'.[146] Between 1800 and 1853 approximately 28,000 convicts would be embarked at Portsmouth for transportation. With the departure of the 630 ton *St Vincent* on 17 January 1853, the last Australia-bound convict vessel to leave Spithead, another chapter in Portsmouth's development closed.[147] Once forged, the town's bonds with Australia were to be promoted during the nineteenth century in various ways, whether *via* shipping out some of the

Duke of Northumberland's sheep in 1803, or through the arrival of the *Zebra* sloop in December 1816 with news from the colony and copies of Australian newspapers. During the first half of 1836 nine ships left England for the development of 'a new Australian colony, free of convictism'. This was to become South Australia, the brainchild of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Portsmouth's contribution was to see off H.M.S. *Buffalo* carrying Captain Hindmarsh, the first Governor, and 171 emigrants. A different type of link was established four decades later when a visiting Australian cricket team suffered one of its four defeats at Portsmouth at the hands of the 'Past and Present Cantabs'.[148] The relationship had become one where within less than a century stumps had replaced shackles.

What may be said in conclusion of the First Fleet undertaking? A number of salient features emerge for consideration. The complex organisation involved, embracing different Government departments, the East India Company and so many individuals, needs to be borne firmly in mind. While convicts, naval officers, marines and merchants alike might fret over constant timetable changes, Phillip was not prepared to go until satisfied that every requirement for the voyage and nascent colonial settlement had been met. The scale of the achievement needs to be appreciated as well. To take approximately 1,200 people on a 15,000 mile voyage to the other side of the World in less than 4,000 tons of shipping, losing only a small number on the way, was remarkable. The impact on Portsmouth in the immediate context was not that great. To contemporaries it would have appeared simply as extra activity in a port, naval and garrison town that was already full of bustle. In the medium and long terms, as has been shown, the effects were more substantial. Local residents could meet and mingle with returning First Fleeters, talk to them of their experiences, or read about them avidly in newspapers, journals and books. Sending the First Fleet marked the forging of a second link, the first having been established by Captain Cook, in the chain of bonds between Portsmouth and Australia. Furthermore, it was achieved at remarkably low cost. The level of Parliamentary grants at this time is particularly indicative of the priority given to the enterprise. For convicts on the Thames in 1786 Parliament set aside £21,560 5*s*. 7*d*. For the British Museum in 1787 the sum was £3,000. For the buildings at Somerset House in 1788 the figure was £25,000. For the civil establishment in New South Wales for 1786, 1787 and 1788 the sum of £2,877 10*s*. was set aside on each occasion.[149] And yet important seeds were sown. Phillip's achievement was remarkable and helps to explain why a fellow officer stated:

> I do think God Almighty made Phillips on Purpose for the Place; for never did Man better know what to do, or with more Determination to see it done; and yet, if they'll let him, he will make them all very happy.

Perhaps the final words, however, should go to the Reverend Charles Weedon Butler, the enlightened clergyman who did and cared so much for his nephew Daniel Southwell. At the end of January 1791 he wrote with clarity and perception to his relative in New South Wales:

> had every destined Assistance to the Colony succeeded, I can suppose that Emigrations from hence, not under the Hatches, might have been thought of. As it is, we may yet expect there will be such.[150]

APPENDIX I

Published works on Australia 1786–1800

While boasting no claim to be exhaustive, the Appendix reflects clearly the contemporary interest in travel works. Books, pamphlets and governmental publications have been included. Songs and advertisements have been omitted. The division into two parts is self-explanatory. For assistance with its compilation I am obliged to David Francis.

a Works Published 1786–1787

1 Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808)
A serious admonition to the publick, on the intended thief-colony at Botany Bay.
London printed by George Bigg, for John Sewell 1786
52p. 8°

2 *An historical narrative of the discovery of New Holland, and New South Wales, Containing an account of the inhabitants, soil, animals, and other productions of those countries, and including a particular description of Botany Bay . . .*
London printed for John Fielding [1786]
33, [1]p. 4°

3 *An historical narrative of the discovery of New Holland, and New South Wales containing an account of the inhabitants, soil, animals, and other productions of those countries and including a particular description of Botany Bay . . .*
London printed for John Stockdale [1786]
54p. 8°

4 *An historical narrative of the discovery of New Holland and New South Wales. Containing an account of the inhabitants, soil, animals, . . . Illustrated with a chart . . .*
London printed for John Fielding [1786?]
[2], 33, [1]p., plate map 4°

5 *An historical narrative of the discovery of New Holland and New South Wales, Containing an account of the inhabitants, soil, animals, . . . Illustrated with a chart . . .*
London printed for John Stockdale [1786?]
[2], 54p., plate map 8°

6 *The history of New Holland, from its first discovery in 1616, to the present time. With a particular account of its produce and inhabitants; and a description of Botany Bay: . . . To which is prefixed, an introductory Discourse on banishment, by . . . William Eden. Illustrated . . .*
London printed for John Stockdale 1787
xxiv, 254, [2]p., plates maps 8°

7 *The history of New Holland, from its first discovery in 1616, to the present time. . . . To which is prefixed, an introductory Discourse on banishment, by . . . William Eden. Illustrated with a map of New Holland, a chart of Botany Bay, and a general chart from England to Botany Bay.*
London printed for John Stockdale 1787
xxxv, [1], 254, [2]p., plates maps 8°

8 *Love in captivity; or, future felicity anticipated. In a series of eccentrical epistles between several celebrated heroes, and amorous British beauties, bound to Botany Bay. . . .*
London printed for the editor. Sold by T. Massey, H. D. Symonds 1787
48p. 8°

9 *The history of Botany Bay, in New Holland. Containing a full account of the inhabitants, . . . soil and produce . . . To which is added the number and equipment of the fleet sailed there, and the nature of the establishment, with which it is to commence, and the regular government of the colony. . . .*
Bristol printed and sold by L. Naylor [1787?]
24p. ill. 12°

b Works published 1788–1800

1 *Astronomical observations, made in the voyages which were undertaken by order of His present Majesty, for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, . . . Drawn up and published by order of the Commissioners of Longitude . . . By William Wales, . . . Illustrated with maps of New Zealand and the eastern coast of New Holland, . . .*
London printed by C. Buckton: and sold by P. Elmsly 1788
[4], xii, *4, 146p., plates maps 4°

2 Officer just returned
An authentic and interesting narrative of the late expedition to Botany Bay, as performed by Commodore

Phillips, . . . and safe arrival on the coast of New Holland: with particular descriptions of Jackson's Bay and Lord Howe's Island; . . . Written by an officer just returned . . .
London printed for W. Clements, and J. Sadler, in the year 1789
32p. 8°

3 Officer just returned
An authentic and interesting narrative of the late expedition to Botany Bay, as performed by Commodore Phillips, . . . and safe arrival on the coast of New Holland: with particular descriptions of Jackson's Bay & Lord Howe's Island, . . . Written by an officer just returned . . .
London printed by W. Bailey; H. Lemoine, and J. Parsons 1789
43, [1]p. 8°

4 Watkin Tench (1759–1833)
A narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay; with an account of New South Wales, its productions, inhabitants, &c. To which is subjoined, a list of the civil and military establishments at Port Jackson.
Dublin printed for Messrs. H. Chamberlaine, W. Wilson, L. White, P. Byrne, A. Gruebier, Jones, and B. Dornin 1789
vi, [4], 146p. 8°

5 Watkin Tench
A narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay; with an account of New South Wales, its productions, &c. To which is subjoined, a list of the civil and military establishments at Port Jackson. Second edition.
London printed for J. Debrett 1789
viii, [4], 146p. 8°

6 Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802)
Visit of Hope to Sydney Cove, near Botany Bay.
London? 1789
1 sheet ½°

7 Officer, just returned in the Borrowsdale Transport
An authentick narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay, as performed by Commodore Phillips, . . . With a particular description of Jackson's Bay, and Lord Howe's Island; also the customs of the natives, . . . Interspersed with curious anecdotes of trading justices. By an officer, just arrived in the Borrowsdale transport
London printed by R. Bassam; and sold by H. D. Symonds; J. Axtell; H. Pearce; E. Yardley [1789]
vii, [2], 8–44p., plate 12°

8 Thomas Gilbert, Commander of the Charlotte Indiaman
Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the year 1788, with views of the islands discovered. By Thomas Gilbert, Esq. Commander of the Charlotte.
London printed by George Stafford, for J. Debrett 1789
[4]. x, 85, [3]p., plates 4°

9 *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers, . . . embellished with fifty five copper plates, . . .*
London printed for John Stockdale 1789
[2], 6, [2], viii, [12], x, 298, lxxiv, [2]p., plates maps 4°

10 Arthur Philip (1738–1814)
The voyage of Governor Philip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers, which have been obtained from several departments to which are added, the journals of Lieuts Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Capt. Marshall; with an account of their new discoveries . . . Second edition
London printed for John Stockdale 1790
xxiii, [1], 258, [3], lxxx–clxxv, [1], lxvip., plates (some fold.) maps, ports. 4°

11 *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island: compiled from authentic papers, . . . to which are added the journals of Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Ball & Capt. Marshall, . . . Embellished with copper plates.*
London printed for John Stockdale 1790
[2], xxiv, 383, [1]p., plates port., maps 8°

12 *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island; compiled from authentic papers, . . . from the several departments. To which are added, the journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Captain Marshall; with an account of their new discoveries. The views . . . drawn . . . by Capt. Hunter, Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Dawes, Bradley, Capt. Marshall, &c.*
Dublin printed for P. Byrne, J. Moore, Grueber and M'Allister, and W. Jones 1790
xiv, viii, 352; lxxivp., plates port. 8°

13 *The history of Botany Bay, in New Holland. Contain-*

ing, a full account of the inhabitants, descriptions of the soil and produce of the Bay. . . .
London printed and sold in London [1790?]
8p. 4°

14 John White (1756?–1832)
Journal of a voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non descript animals, birds, . . . and other natural productions by John White . . .
London printed for J. Debrett 1790
[18], 299, [1]; [40]p., plates 4°

15 George Barrington (1755–1804)
An impartial and circumstantial narrative of the present state of Botany Bay, in New South Wales, . . . By George Barrington . . .
London printed by S. & J. Bailey [1791]
44p. 8°

16 *Memoir of a chart of the China Sea; including the Philippine, Mollucca, and Banda Islands, with part of the coast of New Holland and New Guinea. . . . By George Robertson.*
[London] Printed for the author, and sold by J. Murray, Fleet-Street 1791
vi, 134, [2]p. 4°

17 Great Britain Parliament House of Commons
Extracts of letters, &c. – and accounts, relative to the settlements in New South Wales.
[London 1791]
16, [2]p. 2°

18 Arthur Phillip
Extracts of letters from Arthur Phillip, Esq., Governor of New South Wales, to Lord Sydney; to which is annexed a description of Norfolk Island, by Phillip Gidley King, Esq. And an account of expenses incurred in transporting convicts to New South Wales.
London printed for J. Debrett 1791
[2], 26p. 4°

19 Great Britain Parliament House of Commons
Extract of a letter from Governor Phillip to Mr. Secretary Grenville; dated Sydney, New South Wales, 1st March, 1791.
[London] 1792
5, [1]p. 2°

20 *Accounts and papers relating to convicts on board the hulks, and those transported to New South Wales*
[London] 1792
109, [1]p. 2°

21 *Copies and extracts of letters from Governor Phillip, giving an account of the nature and fertility of the land in and adjoining to any settlement in New South Wales, . . . To which are prefixed, copies and extracts of letters from the Office of Secretary of State for the Home Department, . . .*
London printed for J. Debrett 1792
[4], 127, [1]p. 4°

22 John Hunter (1737–1821)
An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the discoveries which have been made in New South Wales . . . since the publication of Phillip's voyage, . . . including the journals of governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball: . . . By John Hunter, . . .
London printed for John Stockdale January 1 1793
[18], 583, [1]p., plates maps, port. 4°

23 Watkin Tench
A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, including an accurate description of the situation of the colony; of the natives; and of its natural productions: taken on the spot, by Captain Watkin Tench, . . .
London sold by G. Nicol; and J. Sewell 1793
xvi, 212p., plate map 4°

24 Thomas Watling
Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay, to his aunt in Dumfries; giving a particular account of the settlement of New South Wales, with the customs and manners of the inhabitants, . . .
Penrith printed by Ann Bell [1793?]
iv, 238p. 8°

25 Sir James Edward Smith (1759–1828)
A specimen of the botany of New Holland, by James Edward Smith, . . . The figures by James Sowerby, . . .
London printed by J. Davis: published by J. Sowerby, Lambeth; to be had at No. 42, Paternoster Row 1793[–95]
vii, 54p., plates 4°

26 Reverend Richard Johnson (1753–1827)
An address to the inhabitants of the colonies, estab-

lished in New South Wales and Norfolk Island. By the Rev. Richard Johnson, . . . written in the year 1792.
London printed for the author: and sold by Mathews; Deighton; Trap; and Goff and Amey 1794
[2], viii, 74p. 12°

27 George Thompson
Slavery and famine, punishments for sedition; or, an account of New South Wales, and of the miserable state of the convicts, by George Thompson, . . . with some preliminary remarks. And a sketch of the character of Thomas Fysche Palmer, . . . by George Dyer, . . .
London printed for J. Ridgway 1794
viii, 47, [1], 23, [1]p. 8°

28 George Shaw (1751–1813)
Zoology of New Holland, by George Shaw, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. The figures by James Sowerby, F.L.S. Vol. I.
London printed by J. Davis: published by J. Sowerby; to be had at No. 42, Paternoster Row 1794
[4], 33, [1]p., plates 4°

29 George Barrington
A voyage to New South Wales; with a description of the country; the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the natives, in the vicinity of Botany Bay.
London printed for the proprietor; sold by H. D. Symonds 1795
[9], 14–140p. 8°

30 *The life and extraordinary adventures of George Barrington, now transported to Botany Bay, . . .*
[Darlington W. A. printer] [1795?]
8p. 12°

31 Charles Kite (?–1811)
Essays and observations, physiological and medical, on the submersion of animals, and on the resin of the acoroides resinifera, or yellow resin from Botany Bay. To which are added, select histories of diseases; with remarks.
London printed by G. Woodfall, for C. Dilly 1795
vii, [1], 432, [4]p., tables 8°

32 *Gerrald a fragment, containing some account of the life of this devoted citizen, who was sent as a delegate to the British Convention, at Edinburgh, by the London Corresponding Society, for acting in which capacity, he is now transported to Botany Bay for fourteen years!!!*
London printed for, and sold by, John Smith [1795?]
24p. 8°

33 *Medical and chemical essays. Containing additional observations on scurvy, . . . Communications from New South Wales, on scurvy, . . . The case of a blue boy, . . . Thoughts on the decomposition of water, . . . By Thomas Trotter, . . .*
London printed for J. S. Jordan 1796
155, [1]p. 8°

34 George Barrington
A voyage to New South Wales; with a description of the country; the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the natives, in the vicinity of Botany Bay.
Philadelphia printed by Thomas Dobson 1796
xi, [1], 150, [2]p. 12°

35 George Hamilton, Minister of Gladsmuir
The telegraph; a consolatory epistle from Thomas Muir, Esq. of Botany Bay, to the Hon. Henry Erskine, late Dean of Faculty.
[Edinburgh? 1796]
11, [1]p. 4°

36 *The oriental navigator; or, new directions for sailing to and from the East Indies. Also for the use of the country ships, trading in the Indian and China Seas; to New Holland, &c. &c. Collected from the manuscripts, journals, memoirs, and observations, of the most experienced officers . . . Being a companion to the East India pilot, . . . by the late Mr. Robert Sayer; . . .*
London printed for, and published by, Robert Laurie and James Whittle, (successors to the late Mr. Robert Sayer) 1794 [1797]
[5], viii–xiv, 590p. 4°

37 Thomas Fyshe Palmer (1747–1802)
A narrative of the sufferings of T. F. Palmer, and W. Skirving during a voyage to New South Wales, 1794, on board the suprise Transport.
Cambridge printed by Benjamin Flower: for W. H. Lunn, J. Deighton, and J. Nicholson; and sold by J. March, Norwich; J. Abel, Northampton; T. Langdon, Leeds; G. G. and J. Robinson, and T. Conder, London 1797
74, [2]p. 8°

38 Charles Hatchett (1765?–1847)
An analysis of the earthy substance from New South Wales, called Sydneia or Terra australis. By Charles

Hatchett, Esq. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions.
[London? 1798]
22p 4°

39 David Collins (1756–1810)
An account of the English colony in New South Wales: with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners, &c. . . . To which are added, some particulars of New Zealand; compiled, by permission, from the MSS. of Lieutenant-Governor King. By David Collins, . . . Illustrated by engravings.
London printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies 1798
xx, xxxviii, [2], 617, [3]p., plates maps 4°

40 Great Britain Parliament House of Commons
The report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons, relative to the establishment of a new police in the metropolis, &c. and the convict establishment: . . . Together with observations on the System of transporting convicts to Botany Bay, . . .
London printed by R. Shaw. Sold by H. D. Symonds; Clarke and Son; and W. Clement 1799
[4], 134, [2]p., table 8°

41 George Barrington
A sequel to Barrington's Voyage to New South Wales, comprising an interesting narrative of the transactions and behaviour of the convicts; . . . an official register . . . as likewise authentic anecdotes . . . By . . . George Barrington, . . .
London printed and published by C. Lowndes; and sold by H. D. Symonds 1800
[3], vi–viii, [1], 6–110, [6]p. ill., table 8°

42 George Barrington
A voyage to Botany Bay with a description of the country, manners, customs, religion, &c. of the natives by the celebrated George Barrington. To which is added his life and trial
London printed by C. Lowndes, and sold by H. D. Symonds [1800?]
[2], 120p., plate 12°

APPENDIX II

Botany Bay, convict ships and poetry

Development of Botany Bay and the use of convict ships inspired much poetry. George Crabbe (1754–1832) in *The Borough* wrote of the lost member's fiddle and bow:

> That still reminds them how he'd dance and play,
> Ere sent untimely to the Convicts' Bay[1]

At a local level Henry Slight commented:

> Then rose a prison, vast and strong,
> In Penny Street; from whence a throng
> Of genuine patriots oft are sent
> To the Antarctic Continent;
> Here kept until the favoring gale
> Bids the ill-freighted vessel sail.[2]

That convict ships served as an inspiration may be seen from the following two items:

> THE CONVICT SHIP
> by T. K. Hervey, Esq.
>
> Morn on the waters! – and purple and bright,
> Burst on the billows the flushing of light;
> O'er the glad waves, like a child of the sun,
> See the tall vessel goes gallantly on;
> Full to the breeze she unbosoms her sail,
> And her pennon streams onward, like hope, in the gale;
> The winds come around her, in murmur and song,
> And the surges rejoice as they bear her along;
> See! she looks up to the golden-edged clouds,
> And the sailor sings gaily aloft in the shrouds;
> Onward she glides, amid rimple and spray,
> Over the waters – away and away!
> Bright as the visions of youth, ere they part
> Passing away, like the dreams of the heart!
> Who – as the beautiful pageant sweeps by,
> Music around her, and sunshine on high –
> Pauses to think, amid glitter and glow,
> Oh! there be hearts that are breaking below!
> Night on the waves! – and the moon is on high,
> Hung, like a gem, on the brow of the sky,
> Treading its depths in the power of her might,
> And turning the clouds, as they pass her, to light!
> Look to the waters! – asleep on their breast,
> Seems not to the ship like an island of rest?

Bright and alone on the shadowy main,
Like a heart-cherished home on some desolate plain!
Who – as she smiles in the silvery light,
Spreading her wings on the bosom of night,
Alone on the deep, as the moon in the sky,
A phantom of beauty – could deem, with a sigh,
That so lovely a thing is the mansion of sin,
And souls that are smitten lie bursting within?
Who – as he watches her silently gliding –
Remembers that wave after wave is dividing
Bosoms that sorrow and guilt could not sever,
Hearts which are parted and broken for ever?
Or deem that he watches, afloat on the wave,
The death-bed of hope, or the young spirit's grave!
'Tis thus with our life; while it passes along,
Like a vessel at sea, amid sunshine and song!
Gaily we glide in the gaze of the world,
With streamers afloat, and with canvas unfurl'd:
All gladness and glory, to wandering eyes,
Yet charter'd by sorrow, and freighted with sighs: –
Fading and false as the aspect it wears,
As the smiles we put on, just to cover our tears;
And the withering thoughts which the world cannot know,
Like heart-broken exiles, lie burning below;
Whilst the vessel drives on to that desolate shore,
Where the dreams of our childhood are vanished and o'er![3]

THE FEMALE CONVICT SHIP
by Thomas Haynes Bayley

The tide is in, the breeze is fair,
The vessel under weigh;
The gallant prow glides swiftly on,
And throws aside the spray;
The tranquil ocean, mirror-like,
Reflects the deep blue skies;
And, pointing to the destin'd course,
The straighten'd pennon flies.

Oh! none of those heart-cradled prayers
That never reach the lip,
No benedictions wait upon
That fast-receding ship:
No tearful eyes are strain'd to watch
Its progress from the land;
And there are none to wave the scarf,
And none to kiss the hand.

Yet women throng that vessel's deck –
The haggard and the fair,
The young in guilt, and the depraved,
Are intermingled there!
The girl, who from her mother's arms
Was early lured away;
The harden'd hag, whose trade hath been
To lead the pure astray.

A young and sickly mother kneels
Apart from all the rest;
And with a song of home she lulls
The babe upon her breast.
She falters, – for her tears *must* flow, –
She cannot end the verse;
And nought is heard among the crowd
But laughter, shout, or curse!

'Tis sunset. Hark! the signal gun; –
All from the deck are sent –
The young, the old, the best, the worst,
In one dark dungeon pent!
Their wailings, and their horrid mirth,
Alike are hush'd in sleep:
And now the female convict-ship
In silence ploughs the deep.

But long the lurid tempest-cloud
Hath brooded o'er the waves;
And suddenly the winds are rous'd,
And leave their secret caves;
And up aloft the ship is borne,
And down again as fast;
And every mighty billow seems
More dreadful than the last.

Oh! who that loves the pleasure-barque,
By summer breezes fann'd,
Shall dare to paint the ocean-storm,
Terrifically grand?
When helplessly the vessel drifts,
Each torn sail closely furl'd;
When not a man of all the crew
Knows whither she is hurl'd!

And who shall tell the agony
Of those confined beneath,
Who in the darkness dread to die –
How unprepared for death!

Who, loathing, to each other cling
When every hope hath ceased,
And beat against their prison door,
And shriek to be released!

Three times the ship hath struck. Again!
She never more will float.
Oh! wait not for the rising tide;
Be steady – man the boat.
And see, assembled on the shore,
The merciful, the brave; –
Quick, set the female convicts free,
There still is time to save!

It is in vain! what demon blinds
The captain and the crew?
The rapid rising of the tide
With mad delight they view.
They hope the coming waves will waft
The convict ship away!
The foaming monster hurries on,
Impatient for his prey!

And He is come! the rushing flood
In thunder sweeps the deck;
The groaning timbers fly apart,
The vessel is a wreck!
One moment from the female crowd
There comes a fearful cry;
The next, they're hurl'd into the deep,
To struggle, and to die!

Their corses strew a foreign shore,
Left by the ebbing tide;
And sixty in a ghastly row
Lie number'd, side by side!
The lifeless mother's bleeding form
Comes floating from the wreck;
And lifeless is the babe she bound
So fondly round her neck!

'Tis morn; – the anxious eye can trace
No vessel on the deep;
But gather'd timber on the shore
Lies in a gloomy heap:
In winter time those brands will blaze
Our tranquil homes to warm,
Though torn from that poor convict ship
That perish'd in the storm![4]

REFERENCES

1 R. Huchon, *George Crabbe and his Times 1754–1832* (1907), p. 270.

2 H. Slight, *A Metrical History of Portsmouth* (1820), pp. 42–3. I am obliged to John Webb for drawing my attention to the lines.

3 'An Old Sailor', *The Log Book; or Nautical Miscellany* (1827), p. 112.

4 *Annual Register for 1833* (1834), pp. 502–4.

REFERENCES

[1] I. Schomberg, *The Naval Chronology; or, an Historical Summary of Naval and Maritime Events* (5 vols. 1815), II, p. 163. The place of publication for all books, unless otherwise stated, is London. In quoting from contemporary sources original spelling and punctuation are retained, but contracted words have been expanded. For de Courcy, who rose to become Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief Brazil, for which he was made a knight of the Tower and Sword, see J. Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography* (4 vols. and 4 supplements, 1823–30), I, pp. 332–5. The *Hyaena*, a 6th rate of 1778, had been present at St Vincent and was sold in 1802: T. D. Manning and C. F. Walker, *British Warship Names* (1959), p. 237.

[2] For the one recent exception see Mollie Gillen, *The Search for John Small First Fleeter* (Sydney, 1985).

[3] Peace was not signed between Britain and the United Provinces until 1784: Glyndwr Williams, *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (1966), p. 216.

[4] Prior to 1783 individual Irish counties were responsible for disposing of their own convicts. The Irish Act of 1786 allowed the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to ship convicts 'to any of his Majesty's plantations or settlements in America' or to any other place outside Europe. Irish convicts were not sent to Australia until 1791: Jed Martin, 'Convict Transportation to Newfoundland in 1789', *Acadiensis,* V (1975), p. 86.

[5] For examples of the differing approaches see G. Martin, 'The foundation of Botany Bay, 1778–90: a reappraisal' in R. Hyam and G. Martin, *Reappraisals in British Imperial History* (1975), pp. 44–74; Mollie Gillen, 'The Botany Bay decision, 1786: convicts not empire', *English Historical Review*, XCVII (1982), pp. 740–66; A. Frost, 'Botany Bay: an imperial venture of the 1780s', *Ibid.*, C (1985), pp. 309–27.

[6] Sir J. A. Burdon, *Archives of British Honduras* (3 vols. 1931–5), I, pp. 146, 151–153, 169–170; S. L. Caiger, *British Honduras Past and Present* (1951), p. 91.

[7] Jed Martin, *loc. cit.,* p. 85. Quebec and Nova Scotia had been suggested as convict locations to Lord North's government in 1778.

[8] Richard Bradley was paid £457 10*s*. 6*d*. for 'goods brought by him to pay the purchase of the island Le Main' to be used in the operation: *A(nnual) R(egister) for 1787* (2nd edn. 1789), p. 265.

[9] Glyndwr Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 279. Part of the plan also involved shipping negro loyalists from Nova Scotia to join their compatriots in Sierra Leone. The new colony survived only with difficulty until 1808 when it was taken over by Britain as a base for its anti-slave-trade naval patrols: Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (1970 edn.) p. 155; C. Lloyd, *The Navy and the Slave Trade* (1949), pp. 15–16.

[10] *D(aily) U(niversal) R(egister)*, 567, 9 Dec. 1786. The newspaper's name changed to the *Times* in 1788.

[11] *H(ampshire) C(hronicle),* 750, 29 Jan. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 682, 22 Feb 1787; *H.C.,* 753, 26 Feb. 1787. On a subsequent voyage from Portsmouth 'One Hundred Stands of Arms more than were wanted for the Black Poor at Sierra Leona, . . .' had to be removed from the *Nautilus*: Ordnance Office to Portsmouth, 15 Feb. 1788: P(ortsmouth) C(ity) R(ecords) O(ffice) 694A/12/4/5.

[12] *S(alisbury and Winchester) J(ournal)*, 2548, 9 Apr. 1787; *R(eading) M(ercury and Oxford Gazette)*, 1302, 1 Jan. 1787. Transportees to Africa included soldier John Whooley, for stealing a hat, and two people for stripping children. John Musto sentenced at Reading to 7 years' transportation to Africa for stealing clothes escaped, accompanied by two companions, before making the first leg of the journey to Newgate: *R.M.*, 1315, 2 Apr. 1787; 1317, 16 Apr. 1787.

[13] *D.U.R.*, 648, 13 Jan. 1787; 'and c' equals etc.

[14] *S.J.*, 2537, 22 Jan. 1787. Camur wood was camwood, a hard red West African wood, source of a valuable dye.

[15] *D.U.R.*, 673, 12 Feb. 1787; 685, 26 Feb. 1787.

[16] *Ibid.*, 525, 9 Sept. 1786.

[17] *Ibid.*, 566, 8 Dec. 1786.

[18] See Merval Hoare, *Norfolk Island: An Outline of its History 1774–1981* (University of Queensland Press, 1983), chap. I.

[19] *D.U.R.*, 583, 28 Dec. 1786. See also *Ibid.*, 579, 23 Dec. 1786.

[20] *Ibid.*, 630, 4 Jan. 1787. Britain subsequently garrisoned both Tristan da Cunha and Ascension to thwart any would-be rescuers of Napoleon from St Helena: C. Cross, *The Fall of the British Empire 1918–1968* (1968), p. 124 and G. S. Graham, 'Napoleon's Naval Gaolers', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, VII (1978), pp. 3–17.

[21] *D.U.R.*, 538, 25 Sept. 1786.

[22] *Ibid.*, 549, 7 Oct. 1786. Government may have been deterred from using Gibraltar following the siege of 1779–82. Gibraltar served as an outlet for convicts between 1842 and 1875: A. Andrews, *Proud Fortress: The Fighting Story of Gibraltar* (1958), pp. 149–50; J. D. Stewart, *Gibraltar The Keystone* (Boston, 1967), pp. 163–4.

[23] *D.U.R.*, 569, 30 Oct. 1786.

[24] R. Sedgwick (ed.), *The House of Commons 1715–1754* (2 vols. 1970), I, pp. 454–5. An unscrupulous businessman, Benson later fled to Portugal, where he died in 1772.

[25] *D.U.R.*, 591, 24 Nov. 1786.

[26] William Brodie to ?, 10 Sept. 1788: *Historical Manuscripts Commission Laing MSS.*, II, p. 528. This and a similar plea to an unnamed lady in a letter written the same day fell on deaf ears and Brodie, a notorious Edinburgh housebreaker, was executed 1 Oct. 1788.

[27] *H.C.*, 735, 16 Oct. 1786; 737, 30 Oct. 1786; 746, 1 Jan. 1787.

[28] In 1768 Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, aboard the *Boudeuse* frigate, became the first Frenchman to circumnavigate the World: E. H. Jenkins, *A History of the French Navy* (1973), p. 144. For further details see M. Ross, *Bougainville* (1978), pp. 83–144.

[29] *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1773–1775*, p. 263. Kerguelen is remembered today in the Kerguelen-Gaussberg Ridge in the Southern Ocean and in the French-owned Kerguelen Islands in the southern Indian Ocean.

[30] Duke of Dorset to Earl of Carmarthen, 5 May, 9 June 1785: O. Browning (ed.), *Despatches from Paris 1784–1790* (2 vols. Camden Soc. 3rd series, 1909–1910), I, pp. 52–3, 58. Jean Francois Galaup, Comte de la Pérouse, born 1741, sailed the Pacific with an extensive commission from Louis XVI. He entered Botany Bay 26 Jan. 1788, the day the bulk of the First Fleet were leaving it. His two ships were wrecked on the coral reefs of Vanicoro Island, New Hebrides, and his remains were not discovered until 1826: E. Scott (ed.) *Australian Discovery by Sea* (1929), pp. xxvi, 269–293; Browning, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52n.

[31] For the crisis see J. Goebel, *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* (1982 reprint), *passim*. For the sending of ships from Portsmouth see *A.R. for 1771* (6th edn. 1803), p. 90. See also C. I. Archer, 'The Spanish Reaction to Cook's Third Voyage' in R. Fisher and H. Johnston (eds.), *Captain James Cook and His Times* (1979), pp. 99–119, Writing from Port Jackson Daniel Southwell commented 'it is probable that 2 Spanish Ships of discovery may give us a visit in course of a few

months': Southwell to Reverend Charles Weedon Butler, 20 Aug. 1790: B(ritish) L(ibrary) Add. MS. 16381, f.94.

32 *H.C.*, 746, 1 Jan. 1787.

33 *G(entleman's) M(agazine)*, LVII (1787), Pt. II, p. 733.

34 *Ibid.*, LVI (1786), Pt. II, pp. 807, 903; Pt. I, pp. 206–7.

35 Ged Martin, 'A London Newspaper on the Founding of Botany Bay, August 1786–May 1787', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 61 (1975), pp. 73–90; *D.U.R.*, 544, 2 Oct. 1786; 534, 20 Sept. 1786; 540, 27 Sept. 1786; 562, 27 Dec. 1786; 651, 17 Jan. 1787; *H.C.*, 749, 22 Jan. 1787; 743, 11 Dec. 1786; *G.M.*, LVI (1786), Pt. II, pp. 916–7; *R.M.*, 1302, 1 Jan. 1787; *H.C.*, 744, 18 Dec. 1786.

36 *D.U.R.*, 525, 9 Sept. 1786; *G.M.*, LVI (1786), Pt. II, p. 979; *H.C.*, 746, 1 Jan. 1787; *R.M.*, 1302, 1 Jan. 1787. Blagden, with premises in the High Street, Winchester, was publisher of the *Hampshire Chronicle*: J. Sadler, *The Hampshire Directory* (1784), p. 29.

37 Amelia Sophia-Eleonora, George II's surviving daughter and aunt to George III, died aged 76 on 31 Oct. 1786, interment taking place in Westminster Abbey on 11 Nov. Some London theatres were closed as a mark of respect, while in Portsmouth the pulpit and desk at St Thomas's were draped in black, the cloth being used subsequently as a 'Pawl' in the workhouse: *G.M.*, LVI (1786), Pt. II, pp. 1000–1001, 990; P.C.R.O. PL15/2, Workhouse committee minutes Oct. 1786–Apr. 1787, f.5.

38 *D.U.R.*, 577, 8 Nov. 1786; 627, 1 Jan. 1787; *H.C.*, 739, 13 Nov. 1786; 746, 1 Jan 1787.

39 *D.U.R.*, 718, 6 Apr. 1787; 733, 24 Apr. 1787.

40 George Rose to Chairman and Deputy Chairman of East India Company, 15 Sept. 1786; I(ndia) O(ffice) L(ibrary and) R(ecords) E/1/79, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1786, f.408. For Rose (1744–1818), statesman and M.P. who was eventually to help secure Phillip's appointment to command the enterprise, see *D.N.B.*, XVII, pp. 226–230 and Sir L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.), *The House of Commons 1754–1790* (3 vols. 1964), III, pp. 375–6.

41 Lord Sydney to same, 15 Sept. 1786: I.O.L.R. E/1/79, ff. 414–415v, 417–421, 422v. A further link was to be established with the Company two years later when four convicts in Worcester gaol under sentence of transportation were recommended for pardons 'on condition of their inlisting to serve the East India Company as Soldiers': *Ibid.* E/1/82, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1788, f.397.

42 *D.U.R.*, 534, 20 Sept. 1786.

43 Joshua Thomas to Thomas Morton, East India Company Secretary, 15 Dec. 1786 seeking necessary passes or licences, mentions all the transports but for the *Prince of Wales*: I.O.L.R. E/1/79, ff.718–718v.; *H.C.*, 743, 11 Dec. 1786.

44 P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (eds.), *The Journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R.N. 1787–1790* (Sydney, 1980), p. 6.

45 *H.C.*, 742, 4 Dec. 1786.

46 T. D. Manning and C. F. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 407; J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy: An Historical Index* (2 vols. 1969–70), I, p. 74. See also note contained in *(The) M(ariner's) M(irror)*, XXI (1935), p. 210. *Sirius* was the first of three naval vessels to bear the name. The second, a fifth rate of 1797, was destroyed to avoid capture in 1810. The third, a fifth rate of 1813, the last ship to be built at Bursledon, was broken up in 1862: T. D. Manning and C. F. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

47 Note in *M.M.*, XX (1934), p. 382; John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787–1792* (1793) (ed.) J. Bach (Sydney, 1968), p. 1.

48 I.O.L.R. B/104, East India Company Court Minutes Oct. 1786–Apr. 1787, pp. 656, 773, 786–7; E/1/225 Miscellanies (Home Letters Out) June 1786–Aug. 1787, p. 14; E/1/79, ff.718–718v.

49 K. S. Allen, *'That Bounty Bastard': The True Story of Captain William Bligh* (1976), p. 74.

50 Details drawn from I.O.L.R. L/MAR/C/654, Commanders and Mates Descriptions 1783–7, pp. 23, 104.

51 Daniel Southwell to Jane Southwell, 20 Aug. 1790: B.L. Add. MS. 16381, f.87. S. M. Onslow (ed.), *Some Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden* (Sydney, 1914/1983), pp. 13–14. For Elizabeth Macarthur see A. Mackenzie-Grieve, *The Great Accomplishment: The contribution of five English women to 18th century colonisation* (1953), pp. 207–51, 270–275. The Second Fleet, consisting of the *Surprise*, the *Neptune* and the *Scarborough*, embarked convicts in Dec. 1789, sailed from Portsmouth 17 Jan. 1790 and anchored in Sydney Cove 29 June 1790: C. Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787–1868* (Glasgow, 1969 edn.), p. 126; A. Mackenzie-Grieve, *op cit.*, p. 213. The Second Fleet's voyage occasioned an enquiry and a proposal, adopted in 1792, that all convicts should be transported in ships chartered or owned by the East India Company: Bateson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

52 I.O.L.R. L/MAR/C/654, p. 241.

53 *H.C.*, 736, 23 Oct. 1786.

54 *D.N.B.*, V, pp. 6–7.

55 *H.C.*, 740, 20 Nov. 1786; 738, 6 Nov. 1786.

56 *A(ustralian) D(ictionary of) B(iography)* (3 vols. Melbourne, 1966–9), 2, pp. 326–327; A. Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1767–1840* (1967 edn.), p. 140.

57 *London Gazette*, 12847, 14–17 Apr. 1787; *R.M.*, 1318, 23 Apr. 1787; C. B. Davenport and M. T. Scudder, *Naval Officers their Heredity and Development* (Washington, 1919), p. 174.

58 *A.D.B.*, 2, p. 327. Instead of going to Australia Bickerton became Port Admiral at Plymouth, where he died of an apoplectic fit in Feb. 1792: *D.N.B.*, V, p. 7; *A.R. for 1792*, (1810), Pt. II, p. 57. His son, Sir Richard Bickerton (jun.) (1759–1832), was Commander-in-Chief Portsmouth in 1812 and succeeded William IV as General of Marines in June 1830: *D.N.B.*, V, p. 8.

59 *H.C.*, 737, 30 Oct. 1786; 740, 20 Nov. 1786.

60 *R.M.*, 1297, 27 Nov. 1786; 1298, 4 Dec. 1786. The first of these reports gave the breakdown of clothing and suppliers as follows: 13 tons of top clothing (James Woodham); ½ ton of woollen stockings (John Yerbury); ½ ton of stockings (Peter Pope); 2½ tons of shoes (William Goodman); 1 ton of hats (William Richardson and ? Borradaile). On Christmas Eve 1786 some 200 oxen were bought at Smithfield and sent to Deptford for salting for the expedition: *Ibid*, 1301, 25 Dec. 1786.

61 Surgeon Worgan to Philip, 23 Nov. 1786: *H(istorical) R(ecords of) N(ew) S(outh) W(ales)* (9 vols. reprint Sydney, 1978), I, Pt. 2, p. 30.

62 *D.U.R.*, 516, 2 Dec. 1786; *R.M.*, 1298, 1299, 4, 11 Dec. 1786; *H.C.*, 743, 11 Dec. 1786. One advantage of using Australia, as one newspaper explained, was that if the convicts attempted to 'escape into the woods, they must surely meet with inevitable destruction, our late circumnavigators representing the natives as a race of cannibals, . . .': *D.U.R.*, 530, 15 Sept. 1786. See R. Tannahill, *Flesh and Blood: A History of Cannibalism* (New York, 1975), pp. 13, 15, 260, for aboriginal attitudes.

63 *D.U.R.*, 584, 29 Dec. 1786; 630, 4 Jan. 1787.

64 Phillip to Evan Nepean, 4, 11 Jan., 11 Apr., 11 May 1787: *H.R.N.S.W.*, I, Pt. 2, pp. 45, 46, 77, 102–3. Under Secretary of the Home Department, Nepean was created a baronet in 1802.

65 P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (eds.), *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn 1787–1789* (Sydney, 1979), p. 174. There were several possible sources for the potatoes. They could have been provided by a London-based contractor: *H.R.N.S.W.*, I, Pt. 2, p. 92. Early in Apr. 1787 Lancashire potatoes advertised as a 'fine sort of food', were obtainable from Grant and Burbey, grocers in High Street, Portsmouth: *H.C.*, 759, 9 Apr. 1787. Local market gardener William Holt, contractor for greens and potatoes to Portsmouth Workhouse, could have been another source: P.C.R.O. PL 15/1, Workhouse committee minutes Aug. 1785–Sept. 1786, f.34. Sauerkraut was employed as an anti-scorbutic.

66 John Easty, Private Marine, *Memorandum of the transactions of a Voyage from England to Botany Bay 1787–1793* (Sydney, 1965), p. 4.

67 *A Voyage to New South Wales. The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley R.N. of H.M.S. Sirius 1786–1792* (Facsimile, Sydney, 1969), p. 10.

68 *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, pp. 16, 174.

69 *D.U.R.*, 561, 21 Oct. 1786.

70 Admiralty to Mr. Prater, 5 Dec. 1786; same to Mr. Greenway (Portsmouth) and Mr. Pownall (Plymouth), 13 Jan., 3 March 1787: P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice) Adm. 2/1178, Admiralty Out-Letters, pp. 30, 100, 172–3. Items ordered in December included 2,000 needles, 576 knives and forks, and 100 lb pipe clay. For this, the subsequent two references and part of n.75 I am deeply obliged to my colleague John Lowe who kindly made available both his notes and the Introduction to his forthcoming Portsmouth Record Series volume on the Royal Marines in Portsmouth.

71 Major Ross to Phillip, 22 Dec. 1786: P.R.O. CO 201/2, New South Wales Correspondence; Admiralty to Mr. Greenway and to Major Ross, 29 Dec. 1786: P.R.O. Adm. 2/1178. The expense account submitted to Parliament included £389 4*s*. for 'Marquees and Camp Equipage for Marine Officers' and £69 for 'Old Canvas supplied from Portsmouth Dockyard for Tents, etc. for the Convicts until Huts could be erected': *Parliamentary Papers 1731–1800,* Accounts and Papers XXXIV (1790–1791), no. 740, 8 Apr. 1791.

72 P.R.O. Adm. 2/1178, pp. 67–8.

73 Philip Stephens to Major General Collins, 13 Jan. 1787: R(oyal) M(arines) M(useum, Eastney) Arch 11/52/2, Deputy Adjutant General Royal Marines Letter Book 1787, p. 155; Arch 11/51/5, General Collins' Orderly Book 1786–7, entry for 7 Mar. 1787.

74 *Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley*, p. 9.

75 Admiralty to Board of Ordnance, 15 Nov. 1786: P.R.O. Adm. 2/1177 Admiralty Out-Letters; Philip Stephens to Major General Arthur Collins, 23 Dec. 1786, 2 Jan. 1787: R.M.M. Arch 11/51/2, pp. 149–50, 153. Items ordered for delivery to Deptford were 10,000 musket flints and 1,000 carbine flints, all of which were to be packed in kegs, 200 large and 200 small musket lock nails, 300 musket nails, 24 pairs of swivels and 24 loops.

76 R.M.M., General Sir H. E. Blumberg, K.C.B., R.M., 'A Record of the Royal Marines from 1755 to 1792' (typescript study n.d.), pp. 198–9; *Ibid.*, Lt. Col. P. Hearle, R.M.L.I., 'The Royal Marines in connection with the foundation of our Australian Colonies' (xerox copy of a 6 pt. MS. study), I, p. 11.

77 R(oyal) G(reenwich) O(bservatory, Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex), Board of Longitude Records Vol. VI, Confirmed minutes 1780–1801, pp. 101–2, 104; Harold Parker, Admiralty Office to Arthur Phillip, 21 Nov. 1786: *Ibid*, Letter Book IX 1782–1810, ff.33v–34; Phillip to Parker, 24 Nov. 1786: *Ibid*, Board of Longitude Records Vol. XII, Instruments of the Board etc., f.121. Ibid, ff.161–7 relate to loans to Dawes.

78 R.G.O. Board of Longitude Records, Vol. VI, pp. 105, 111, minutes of 3 Feb., 21 Apr. 1787.

79 *Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley*, p. 11.

80 For Bayly see J. H. Thomas, 'Officer Education in the Age of Nelson: the Contribution of Portsmouth Naval Academy', *The Nelson Birthday Lectures* (forthcoming). From at least 1762 onwards the Academy was involved in time-checking experiments embracing Portsmouth, Jamaica and the Barbados: R.G.O. Board of Longitude Records, Vol. V, Confirmed minutes 1737–1799, pp. 34–5, 37, 56. The Academy checked Captain George Vancouver's chronometers before his voyage of 1791–5 and Captain Matthew Flinders' before his circumnavigation of Australia in 1801–3: *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World . . . under command of Captain George Vancouver* (6 vols. 1801), I, pp. 86–7; M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis* (Australian Facsimile Edns., no. 37, 2 vols. and charts Adelaide, 1966), I, pp. 4–7.

81 Daniel Southwell to Jane Southwell, 5 May 1788: B.L. Add. MS. 16381, f.27.

82 R.M.M., Lt. Col. P. Hearle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 1, 2.

83 *Ibid*. General Sir H. E. Blumberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7.

84 *H.C.*, 737, 30 Oct. 1786.

85 R.M.M., General Sir H. E. Blumberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–198. On 3 Jan. 1787 ten wives per company were allowed to accompany the draft: *Ibid.*, p. 199.

86 Philip Stephens to Lt. Col. Groves, 26 Oct. 1786: R.M.M. Arch. 11/52/2, p. 133; Major General A. Collins to Rear Admiral Groves, 12 Nov. 1786: *Ibid.*, Arch 11/51/1, Chatham and Plymouth Division Letter Book 1784–1789, letter 370.

87 Philip Stevens to Major General Collins, 9 Nov. 1786, to Lt. Col. Groves, 7 Dec. 1786, to Major General Collins, 7, 14 Dec. 1786: R.M.M. Arch. 11/52/2, pp. 137, 141, 142, 147.

88 Philip Stephens to Major General Collins, 23 Dec. 1786: R.M.M. Arch 11/52/2, pp. 149–50; Major General Collins to Philip Stephens, 9 Mar. 1787: *Ibid.*, Arch. 11/51/1, letter 418.

89 Philip Stephens to Major General Carruthers, 8, 20, 31 Oct., 14, 30 Nov., 20 Dec. 1786: P.R.O. Adm. 183/123, Admiralty Letters to Chatham 1784–1791, n.p. The four officers were Thomas Davey, George Hawkshaw, John Johnstone and James Maitland Shairp. Davey, a 1st Lieutenant since 2 Nov. 1780, was a Captain in 1795 and a Colonel in 1804. He died 2 May 1823. Hawkshaw, an Irishman, returned to visit his aged father but died *en route*, aged 44, on 9 May 1792 and was buried in Chester Cathedral. Johnstone became a Captain Lieutenant 29 Nov. 1793 and died exactly a year later. Maitland Shairp, an officer since 12 June 1778 and a Captain in 1795, died when the *Malabar*, a 4th rate, foundered on a passage from the West Indies in Oct. 1796: *A List of the Officers of His Majesty's Marine Forces* (1795), pp. 9, 50, 16; *The Globe and Laurel*, XIII (1906), p. 132; V (1898), p. 15; Lt. John Lodington to Charles Cox, 26 Oct. 1796: R.M.M. Arch. 11/12/12(7); W. P. Gosset, *The Lost Ships of the Royal Navy, 1793–1900* (1986), p. 10.

90 *H.C.*, 735, 16 Oct. 1786.

91 Details of the Portsmouth officers drawn from R.M.M., Sir H. E. Blumberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201; Lt. Col. Parkins Hearle, 'The Royal Marines in connection with the founda-

tion of our Australasian Colonies', *The Globe and Laurel*, V (1898), pp. 14–15, 26; R.M.M. Arch 7/1/4, xerox pages from an article in *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Historical Society*; J. King, *The First Fleet The Convict Voyage that Founded Australia 1787–88* (1983), p. 58. Details of Captain Shea's Company are contained in P.R.O. Adm. 1/3824.

92 Ross to Under Secretary Nepean, 14 March 1787, to Philip Stephens, 13 Apr. 1787, to Nepean, 27 Apr. 1787: *H.R.N.S.W.*, I, Pt. 2, pp. 57, 78, 93; Haslar Hospital, Minute Book of Physician and Council 1783–1787, minute of 18 Apr. 1787. I am obliged to Surgeon Captain R. Radford, Q.H.S., R.N. for granting access to the Hospital's records and to Miss Jane Sayle, Hospital Librarian, for facilities in which to work upon them. Ross's commission as Lieutenant Governor, dated 24 Oct. 1786, is contained in *H.R.N.S.W.*, I. Pt. 2, p. 26.

93 M. H. Dunwell, 'True Patriots from Essex: An investigation into transportation of convicts from Essex to New South Wales . . . 1787–1809 . . .' (unpublished dissertation, Brentwood College of Education, 1965), p. 33.

94 For the hulks see W. Branch Johnson, *The English Prison Hulks* (revised edn. Chichester, 1970); D. P. Capper, *Moat Defensive: A History of the Waters of the Nore Command 55 B.C.–1961* (1963), chap. 15; R. Rigden, *The Floating Prisons of Woolwich and Deptford* (Greenwich, 1976). For drawing my attention to the last of these I am obliged to Veronica Moore.

95 Great Yarmouth Corporation to Lord Sydney, 13 Sept. 1786: Norfolk Record Office MS. 2292 2E2. I am obliged to the Office for a xerox copy of this item. Only one person on the list – 19 year-old labourer John Hill – sailed with the First Fleet.

96 *D.U.R.*, 578, 22 Dec. 1786; 546, 4 Oct. 1786; 684, 24 Feb. 1787; 599, 30 Nov. 1786.

97 *Ibid.*, 524, 8 Sept. 1786; 576, 20 Dec. 1786; 650, 16 Jan. 1787; 704, 21 March 1787; *R.M.*, 1312, 12 Mar. 1787; 1321, 14 May 1787.

98 P.C.R.O. S5/1, Recorder's Notes of Evidence Michaelmas 1785–Easter 1786, n.p.; *H.C.*, 737, 30 Oct. 1786; 749, 22 Jan. 1787; 755, 12 Mar. 1787. Gaolkeeper Thomas Bromfield may perhaps be identified with the man of the same name who ran the *Two Shipwrights* in Queen Street, Portsea, in 1784: J. Sadler, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

99 *D.U.R.*, 525, 9 Sept. 1786; 540, 27 Sept. 1786; *H.C.*, 734, 9 Oct. 1786; *D.U.R.*, 552, 11 Oct. 1786; 560, 20 Oct. 1786; *H.C.*, 737, 30 Oct. 1786.

100 *D.U.R.*, 572, 15 Dec. 1786; *H.C.*, 745, 25 Dec. 1786; *R.M.*, 1301, 25 Dec. 1786; *D.U.R.*, 584, 29 Dec. 1786; 633, 8 Jan. 1787; *H.C.*, 748, 15 Jan. 1787. Tension had been further increased in early January with the despatch of a naval agent from the office in Broad Street, London, to Portsmouth to pay officers, crew and marines three months' wages in advance: *R.M.*, 1303, 8 Jan. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 645, 10 Jan. 1787. An American visitor to London in 1810 had grave reservations about transportation to Botany Bay, arguing that 'the good citizens have a right to complain that rogues should be sent to travel at their expence': Louis Simond, *An American in Regency England: The Journal of a Tour in 1810–1811* (ed.) C. Hibbert (1968), p. 50.

101 *H.C.*, 748, 15 Jan. 1787; *S.J.*, 2536, 15 Jan. 1787; *R.M.*, 1304, 15 Jan. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 652, 18 Jan 1787; *H.C.*, 749, 22 Jan. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 659, 26 Jan. 1787; 665, 2 Feb. 1787.

102 *D.U.R.*, 669, 7 Feb. 1787; 682, 22 Feb. 1787; 684, 24 Feb. 1787; *R.M.*, 1311, 5 Mar. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 687, 28 Feb. 1787; 689, 2 Mar. 1787; *H.C.*, 755, 12 Mar. 1787.

103 *D.U.R.*, 702, 19 Mar. 1787; *H.C.*, 756, 19 Mar. 1787; *D.U.R.*, 716, 4 Apr. 1787; *H.C.*, 758, 2 Apr. 1787.

104 *H.C.*, 758, 2 Apr. 1787; 763, 7 May 1787; *D.U.R.*, 742, 5 May 1787; 746, 10 May 1787. Delay worried owners of the *Lady Penrhyn* and the other trading vessels regarding arrival time in China and extra expenses: I.O.L.R., B/104, pp. 956, 1021, 1130; E/1/225, pp. 385, 491–2.

105 M. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 85; C. Bateson, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Full lists of the expedition's members may be found in P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan, *The First Fleeters* (Sydney, 1981) and in J. King, *op. cit.*, end papers.

106 *A.D.B.*, 1, pp. 566–72; *D.N.B.*, X, pp. 294–5; J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal*, p. 3.

107 *A.D.B.*, 1, pp. 145–6.

108 *Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley*, pp. 4, 5, 9–10, 11.

109 James Bradley taught mathematics, while John Bradley was Academy usher during the years 1784–1801. The latter's widow died 1 Nov. 1802: Sir R. V. Hamilton (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Thomas Byam Martin G.C.B.* (3 vols. Navy Records Society, 1898–1903), I, p. 23; J. Sadler, *op. cit.*, p. 113; J. C. Mottley, *The History of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1801), Appendix, p. iii; *The Naval Chronicle*, VIII (July–Dec. 1802), p. 440.

110 William Bradley to East India Company Court of Directors, 24 Sept. 1786: I.O.L.R. E/1/79, ff. 443, 444v. Crown Copyright material appears by kind permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

111 *A.D.B.*, 2, pp. 55–61; *D.N.B.*, XI, pp. 148–9; P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (eds.), *The Journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R.N. 1787–1790* (Sydney, 1980), pp. xvii–xix, 7.

112 The two sons were Norfolk (1789–1839) and Sydney (1790–1841). Gidley King died at Tooting, Surrey, 3 Sept. 1808.

113 Newton Fowell to John Fowell, 17 Apr., 10 May 1787: P.C.R.O. 694A/12/10, 694A/14/1.

114 B.L. Add. MS. 16381, f.3; Daniel Southwell to Jane Southwell, 19 May 1787, 27–30 July 1790; Reverend Charles Weedon Butler to Southwell, 25 May 1789; *Ibid.*, ff.13, 13v–14, 40, 78v.

115 Lambeth Palace Library, Moore Papers, I, Foreign, Account of Reverend R. Johnson, ff.16–17. Johnson's commission as Chaplain, dated 24 Oct. 1786, is contained in *H.R.N.S.W.*, I. Pt. 2, p. 27. Johnson's papers include a delightful side elevation and seating plan for a temporary place of worship at Sydney. One contemporary publication – *An Authentic and Interesting Narrative of the Late Expedition to Botany Bay* (Aberdeen, 1789) – mistakenly refers to Johnson as the 'Rev. Mr. Charles Thompson'. I am indebted to Mr. Keith Johnson, Director of the Library of Australian History, Sydney, for providing me with a xerox copy of the 1978 facsimile edition of this work.

116 Lieutenant Ralph Clark to Johnson, 23 Apr. 1787: P. G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan (eds.), *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787–1792* (Sydney, 1982), p. 247; *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, pp. 15, 11.

117 Considen subsequently appealed for extra payment for his Norfolk Island service: P.R.O. Adm. 96/525/73; transcript in R.M.M. Arch. 15/4. Worgan's journal, published as *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon* (Sydney, 1978), starts only from the Cape of Good Hope, suggesting that there may have been an earlier portion now sadly lost.

118 *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, pp. 3, 11–15. Smyth incorrectly gave the *Belvidere*'s tonnage as 1,100. Recently built at Itchenor, Sussex, under Mr. Crockenden's supervision, the *Belvidere* was approximately 152ft. long, weighed 987 tons

and carried 26 guns. The vessel should have been carrying 40 chests of treasure to China, but the East India Company had had a change of plan: I.O.L.R. L/MAR/C/529, n.p.; E/1/79, f.685; B/104, p. 116. With total First Fleet tonnage amounting to 3,868, the impact of the *Belvidere*'s arrival can be easily understood. Smyth's journal mentions, under 22 Apr. 1787, arrival of 'a large Danish East India Man' at Spithead. This was the *Johanna-Maria*, under Captain Bolle, *en route* from Bengal to Copenhagen: *D.U.R.*, 732, 23 Apr. 1787.

119 *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, pp. 12, 13, 14, 15. 'Mr Ballard' was Phillip Ballard, described as 'Mealman, Wottonbridge': J. Sadler, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

120 *Journal and Letters of Ralph Clark*, pp. xv, 1, 241–3, 246, 248–9, 250; *A.D.B.*, 1, pp. 225–6. Such was Clark's disdain that when some of the convict women on board *Friendship* were replaced at Cape Town by sheep he wrote 'I think we will find [the sheep] much more agreable ship mates than [the women] were'. His natural daughter was christened Alicia at Sydney 16 Dec. 1791.

121 P.C.R.O. CHU 3/ID/6. St Mary's Marriage Register 1783–1789, p. 311; J. Scott, *Remarks on a Passage to Botany Bay 1787–1792* (Sydney, 1963); *A.D.B.*, 2, p. 427.

122 John Easty, Private Marine, *Memorandum of the transactions of a Voyage . . .*, pp. 3, 4, 5.

123 *D.U.R.*, 573, 3 Nov. 1786; 582, 14 Nov. 1786; *Journal and Letters of Ralph Clark*, pp. 8, 4; M. H. Dunwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–3. From Plymouth in mid-November 1786 it had been reported that 239 male and 51 female convicts were on board the *Dunkirk* 'the greatest part of whom are destined for Botany-Bay': *D.U.R.*, 583, 15 Nov. 1786.

124 C. Bracegirdle, 'The Escape of Mary Bryant', *The Lady*, 5 June 1986, pp. 1088–9. I am indebted to Evelyn Magrath for kindly drawing my attention to this item. One young convict openly lionized by the contemporary press was Samuel Burt, capitally convicted for forgery on 16 Jan. 1787 and then reprieved in return for transportation. Unfortunately, it took some weeks to convince him that transportation had certain advantages over execution! Readers of the *Annual Register, Daily Universal Register, Gentleman's Magazine* and *Reading Mercury* followed the unfolding saga with considerable interest, though Burt appears not to have gone with the First Fleet.

125 *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, pp. 4, 6, 7. For convict reactions in subsequent fleets see W. Noah, *Voyage to Sydney in the Ship Hillsborough 1798–1799 and a Description of the Colony* (Sydney, 1978), especially p. 18 and *The Adventures of Ralph Rashleigh: A Penal Exile in Australia 1825–1844* (1929), especially chaps. V and VI. Contracts and bonds for the transportation of convicted felons from Wiltshire to New South Wales, 1787–1789, are contained in W(iltshire) R(ecord) O(ffice) Al/320/2.

126 For the local sailors see Victor Crittenden, *Naval Men of the First Fleet* (Canberra, 1986), pp. 23, 31, 26, 27, 18, 36, 17, 19, 34. I am obliged to the author for a copy of this work. James Levingston's baptism is contained in P.C.R.O. CHU 3/1A/7, St Mary's Marriage and Baptismal Register 1750–1773, n.p. William Westbrook, son of William and Mary, was baptised at Fareham 14 Dec. 1760: *Ibid.*, CHU 43/1A/4, St Peter and St Paul Register 1743–1792, n.p. For Joseph Toberry's baptism, as son of James Toberry, see *Ibid.*, CHU 3/1A/7.

127 *D.U.R.*, 584, 29 Dec. 1786; Lt.-Col. Wilkie (ed.), 'Recollections of the Early Life of a Sailor', *Colburn's United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal* (1846), Pt. III, p. 566. The passage is misquoted in Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

128 Earl of Pembroke to Sir William Hamilton, 7 June 1782: W.R.O. 2057/F4/26, Correspondence 1762–1793. From India General Sir John Floyd wrote of the appointment: 'I am very glad Lord Pembroke has got Portsmouth because I guess it is very agreable to him': Floyd to Lord Herbert, 21 July 1783: *Ibid.*, 2057/F4/28 Correspondence of Sir John Floyd with Earl of Pembroke and Lord Herbert 1778–1792. Pembroke's travels in 1786 and 1787 are reconstructed from Lord Herbert (ed.) *Pembroke Papers (1780–1794) Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle* (1950), pp. 306–7, 315, 317, 321–4. I am obliged to Philip Magrath for access to this work. The Earl's letter book is contained in W.R.O. 2057/F4/10. For Richmond's reservations see A. Olson, *The Radical Duke: The Career and Correspondence of Charles Lennox third Duke of Richmond* (1961), p. 80.

129 Ware was elected 29 Sept. 1786: P.C.R.O. CE1/15, Book of Elections and Sessions 1776–1816, p. 84; CE6/2, Book of Original Entries 1751–1801, p. 199. Barney's accounts are contained in *Ibid.*, CF18/2; White's are in *Ibid.*, CF1/9.

130 P.C.R.O., S2/25, 26, sacrament certificates dated 25 Oct. 1746 and 22 Oct. 1760; *G.M.*, LVIII (1788), p. 1129; Customs and Excise records 58/1; I.O.L.R. E/1/81, ff.483–486v.

131 Huish's letters with the date of their being read to the Company Court, were written as follows: 21/23 Jan. 7/9, 8/9, 9/13, 11/13, 18/21, 21/28 Feb; 5/6, 8/9, 9/13, 11/13, 12/13, 26/27, 30/31 March; 1/4, 27 Apr./1 May; 13/14 May 1787: I.O.L.R. B/104, 105, passim. Only three replies, dated 2, 7 and 29 Mar., have been located: *Ibid.*, E/1/225, pp. 414, 422, 473. Huish held East India Company stock to the value of £1,661 17*s*. 2*d*. at this time: *Ibid.*, L/AG/1/1/25, General Ledger 1785–1789, f.162.

132 P.C.R.O., PL1/27, Overseers' Accounts 1786–1789, p. 23.

133 *D.U.R.*, 749, 15 May 1787; *S.J.*, 2554, 21 May 1787; *H.C.*, 765, 21 May 1787; *R.M.*, 1321, 14 May 1787; 1323, 28 May 1787.

134 The paragraph is based on a close reading of the *Daily Universal Register, Hampshire Chronicle, London Gazette* and *Reading Mercury* for the period 1 Sept. 1786–31 May 1787 and of the *Annual Register* and *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786 and 1787. In late Feb. 1786 a fever 'which . . . appeared to proceed from the Convicts' had been blamed for the admission of 104 extra patients to Haslar Hospital since 16 Dec. 1785: Physician and Council to Commission for Sick and Hurt Seamen, 23 Feb. 1786: Haslar Hospital, Council Letter Book 1778–1790, n.p.

135 Butler to Southwell, 30 Jan. 1791; Southwell to Jane Southwell, 12 Oct. 1791: B.L. Add. MS. 16381, ff. 95v, 112.

136 *H.C.*, 1004, 21 May 1792; 1241, 22 July 1797; 1259, 25 Nov. 1797. I am obliged to Philippa Stevens and Philip Magrath for these references. For an example of magazine coverage see *A.R. for 1789* (2nd edn. 1802), pp. 256–8.

137 *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789), Subscription List, n.p.; *A Complete Account of the Settlement . . .* (1793), p. xiii. For additional information on Breadhower and helpful conversations on Portsmouth booksellers I am obliged to Roy Wheeler and David Francis.

138 V. Crittenden, *A Bibliography of the First Fleet* (Canberra, 1982), p. 85; K. S. Allen, *op cit.*, p. 73.

139 I.O.L.R. L/MAR/B/355G, Log of the *Scarborough*, 22 Oct. 1788–17 June 1789. *En route* Marshall had stopped at the East India Company's halfway house of St Helena and paid a courtesy call on the Governor.

140 I.O.L.R. L/MAR/B/496A, Log of the *Lady Penrhyn*, 8 Dec. 1788–21 Aug. 1789; *Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth*, p. 169. Included in a pocket at the end of the logbook is a chart of the New South Wales coast with insets of the entrance to the

Endeavour river and Botany Bay. The ship had also called at St Helena.

141 *H.C.*, 1001, 30 Apr. 1792; 1002, 7 May 1792.

142 Southwell to Jane Southwell, 22, 29 Apr. 1792, cited in Jane Southwell to Butler, n.d.; Southwell to Admiral Matthew Barton, n.d.; same to Butler, 30 June 1793; B.L. Add. MS. 16381, ff. 118, 120v, 134v, 135, 136. Southwell and his mother resided at 21 Nicholas Lane, Cannon Street, London. Reverend Butler lived in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. Southwell achieved his desire of becoming a lieutenant in 1794 and died of wounds on active service in Portugal three years later. A five verse poem marking his death was published in *G.M.*, LXVII (1797), p. 870, the fourth verse referring to his Australian experiences.

143 James Scott, *Remarks on a Passage*, pp. vii–viii; *A.D.B.*, 2, p. 427; John Easty, Private Marine, *Memorandum of the transactions* . . ., p. 174. Scott's children were Elizabeth, born Rio de Janeiro 29 Aug. 1787, and William Boxell, born Sydney 4 June 1790. Scott was buried at St Thomas's on 2 Apr. 1796; P.C.R.O. CHU 2/1A/8 Baptism and Burial Register 1787–1800. I am obliged to Rachel Crabtree for this reference. On her way to Australia the *Gorgon* had called in at Portsmouth with a detachment of New South Wales rangers from Chatham. Typhus had broken out among the troops and was cured within two weeks by the ministrations of naval surgeon Thomas Trotter: C. Lloyd, *The Health of Seamen* (Navy Records Society, 1965), pp. 293–4.

144 *A.D.B.*, 2, p. 333; *The Naval Chronicle*, I., (Jan.–June 1799), pp. 480–7; W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy: A History* (7 vols. 1897–1903), IV, p. 186.

145 *A.D.B.*, 1, pp. 145–6; *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660–1815* (3 vols. n.d.), I, p. 97; *A List of the Flag Officers of his Majesty's Fleet: 1 July 1811*, p. 2.

146 I owe this reference to the kindness of John Webb.

147 Figures calculated from C. Bateson, *op cit.*, Appendices VII (a), (b), (d)–(f).

148 *Hampshire Telegraph*, 176, 21 Feb. 1803; *A.R. for 1816* (1817), p. 193; P. Bloomfield, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield Builder of the British Commonwealth* (1961), pp. 119, 140; *A.R. for 1882* (1883), p. 44.

149 Figures derived from *A.R. for 1786* (1788), p. 250; *A.R. for 1787* (2nd edn. 1789), p. 264; *A.R. for 1788* (1790), p. 262. The saving to the East India Company by involvement in the venture was put at £15,732; William Richards (jun.) to Company, 16 Feb. 1790; I.O.L.R. L/MAR/C/325, Letters to Company on Various Marine Subjects 1785–1814, n.p.

150 Both remarks were contained in Butler to Southwell, 30 Jan. 1791: B.L. Add. MS. 16381, ff.99–99v. The remark about Phillip was made by Butler's friend Captain John Faithfull Fortescue.

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Buildings of Portsmouth and its Environs by D. Lloyd, 1974 (Bound and well illustrated).

Hampshire Studies edited by John Webb, Nigel Yates and Sarah Peacock, 1981 (Illus.)

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The Portsmouth Papers—Titles available

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